

*The Later Mughals* (1707-1803.)—By WILLIAM IRVINE, Bengal Civil Service (Retired.)

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SECTION 20.—THE JĀṬ CAMPAIGN, September 1716—April 1718.

We have now to deal with another branch of that wide-spread Jāt or Jaṭ race,<sup>1</sup> which formed such a large proportion of the Sikh fighting line. Without entering into Colonel James Tod's speculations about their identity with the Goths or Getæ, it may be assumed as a certainty that, for many hundreds of years, a branch of this people has been settled in the country south of the Jamnah, between the cities of Āgrah and Dihli. This region, ending on the east at the Chambal river or a little beyond it, marks the eastern limit of their advance from the west. East and north-east of that point there are practically no Jāṭs. Their position on the flank of the high road between two great capitals and of the routes from both those places through Ajmer onwards to the Dakhin, must in all ages have given this robust race an opening for plundering on the highways, a temptation which they found it impossible to resist.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beames, I, 134, note, says that between Jāt and Jaṭ there is only a dialectic difference.

<sup>2</sup> A lively picture of the dangers of this road early in Bahādur Shāh's reign is given by Yār Muḥammad, *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 130. Between Mathurā and Dihli the road had been entirely stopped for two months, and a crowd of many hundred

Without attempting to carry very far back the history of these Jāt depredations, we find, without question, that in the reign of Shāhjahān (1047 H., 1637), they killed Murshid Qulī Khān, the *faujdār* of Mathurā, during an attack on one of their strongholds. In the next reign, that of 'Ālamgīr, they several times gave trouble. In Zu-l Hijjah 1079 H. (April 1669) another *faujdār*, 'Abd-un-nabī, lost his life in an attack on a village called Sorah, the home of a Jāt freebooter named Kokalā, who had raided the town of Sa'dābād in the Dūābah. 'Ālamgīr marched in person from Āgrah, and sent on before him a new *faujdār*, Hasan 'Alī Khān, son of Allahwirdī Khān. Kokalā and a follower of his, Sankī, were captured and executed, limb being torn from limb; Kokalā's daughter was married to the Emperor's favourite slave, and his son was made a Mahomedan.<sup>1</sup>

'Ālamgīr's prolonged absence in the Dakhin speedily weakened the imperial authority in Northern India. In their master's absence the provincial governors took their ease and winked at abuses. Favoured by this negligence, the Jāts resumed their depredations. At length in 1099 H. (1687-8)<sup>2</sup> Khān Jahān, Zafar Jang, Kokaltāsh, and Prince Bedār Bakht, son of Ā'zam Shāh, were sent from the Dakhin to restore order. At this time the chief stronghold of the Jāts was at a village called Sansanī, eight miles south of Dīg, and sixteen miles north-west of Bhartpur.<sup>3</sup> This place was taken on the 15th Ramazān 1099 H. (14th July, 1688), the chief, Rājā Rām, was killed, and his head sent to the Emperor. Prince Shāh 'Ālam, when he was put in charge of the Āgrah *ṣūbah* in the thirty-ninth year, *i.e.*, 1106 H. (1694), also had trouble with the Jāts. Bhajjā, the father of Curāman, is the next leader of whom we hear, and his abode was also at Sansanī. In the forty-ninth year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, 2nd Rajab 1117 H. (19th October, 1705), Sansanī was destroyed a second or third time by Mukhtār Khān, the then *ṣūbahdār* of Āgrah; and shortly afterwards, on the 18th Ramazān 1119 H. (13th December, 1707), Rizā Bahādur attacked it again, sending in ten carts filled with weapons and one thousand heads.<sup>4</sup>

When Bahādur Shāh and his brother, Ā'zam Shāh, took the field travellers, including the wife of Amīn-ud-Dīn, Sambhalī, had collected. In 1712 the Dutch envoy and his party also found the road infested by robbers, who were, no doubt, Jāts, F. Valentyn IV, 302. The same state of things is reported in the diary of our own envoy, John Surman, a year or two afterwards, Orme Collections, p. 1694, entries of the 8th, 16th, 26th, and 30th June 1715.

<sup>1</sup> *Ma, āṣir-ul-umarā*, I, 540, *Pādshāhnāmah*, I, 7, Mirzā Muḥammad, 294.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfī Khān, II, 316, has 1095 H. (1683), but the *Ma, āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī* is a preferable authority.

<sup>3</sup> It is still in the Bhartpur Rājā's territory.

<sup>4</sup> Curā, or more politely Curāman, son of Bhajjā, of Sansanī, had by this time

against each other and met between Āgrah and Dholpūr, Curāman collected as many men as he could, and hung about the neighbourhood of both armies, ready to pillage the vanquished. In the end, so much plunder fell into his hands, that he became from that time forth a most formidable partisan leader, with whom it was necessary to reckon in such troublous times. While Bahādur Shāh was at Āgrah, Curāman came in, and professing to have repented of his turbulent ways, was granted the rank of 1500 *zāt*, 500 horse. In Ramazān 1120 H., (November 1708), he helped Rizā Bahādur, the imperial *faujdār*, in an attack on Ajit Singh, zamīndār of Kāmā, where Curāman was wounded and Rizā Bahādur was killed. In 1122 H. (1710) Curāman joined the Emperor at Ajmer, and took a part in the campaign against the Sikhs at Sādhaurah and Lohgarh. He went on with Bahādur Shāh to Lāhor, and was present during the fighting which took place there after that Emperor's death (March 1712). He also seems to have fallen upon and plundered the baggage of both sides impartially, when Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukhsīyar met in battle array near Āgrah in Zu-l Hijjah 1124 H. (January 1713).<sup>1</sup>

Early in Farrukhsīyar's reign Chabelah Rām, then *ṣūbahdār* of Āgrah, received orders to march against Curāman, and efforts to reduce his power were continued for a long time without success, owing to the underhand opposition of the Wazir and his brother. The next holder of that Government, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, Khān Daurān, not feeling strong enough to use force, tried to make terms. Curāman agreed to come to Court, and on the 16th Ramazān (5th October, 1713), when he arrived at Bārahpulah near the city, Rājah Bahādur, Rāthor, son of 'Azīm-ush-Shān's maternal uncle, was sent out to meet and escort him. Curāman marched in at the head of 3,000 to 4,000 horsemen, and was conducted to the *Diwān-i-khāṣ'* by Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah in person. Charge of the royal highway from Bārahpulah near Dihlī to the crossing on the Cambal, was made over to him, and he soon returned home. But by slow degrees he fell into disfavour, the extent of the country he took possession of was thought excessive, his realisation of road dues was objected to, and his interference with *jāgīr*-holders was disliked. All that a *jāgīrdār* could collect from him was a little money thrown to him as if it were an alms. These things were repeated to the Emperor in detail, over and over again, until they produced an effect, and he resolved that some action must be taken. The difficulty was to find anyone

<sup>1</sup> succeeded to the leadership of the Jāts. *Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 311, 498, Dānishmand Khān, under above date, *Khāfī Khān II*, 316, *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I, 809.

<sup>1</sup> Dānishmand *Khan*, entries of the 28th Jamādī II, and 9th Rajab 1119 H. (27th September and 6th October 1707).

competent to undertake such an arduous task. Curāman had meanwhile constructed a new stronghold at a place called Thūn.<sup>1</sup>

At length in the fifth year of the reign, Jamādi II. 1128 H., May—June 1716, Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, returned to court<sup>2</sup> from his government of Mālwah. Finding out Farrukhsīyar's secret desire to get rid of Curāman, he offered himself as ready to undertake and carry out the work. Early in Shawwāl (September 1716) he received his orders, and started on the 9th of that month (25th September 1716), being the Hindū festival of the Dasahrah. Some troops under Sanjar Khān and Shamsheer Khān, of the *Wālā Shāhīs*, were posted at Palwal, thirty-six or thirty-seven miles from the city, to keep communications open, and provide convoys from that place to Hoḍal in one direction, and Faridābād in the other. A large sum in cash was disbursed to Rājah Jai Singh from the imperial treasury, and he sent for troops from his own country. Serving under him were Māhārāo Bhīm Singh, Hādā, of Kotah, Rājah Gaj Singh, Mārwarī, and Māhārāo Rājah Budh Singh, Hādā, of Bondi.<sup>3</sup>

Thūn having been completely invested, the siege began on the 5th Zū, l Hijjah 1128 H. (19th November, 1716). The fort was provided with lofty walls and a deep ditch filled from springs, and round it spread a thick and thorny jungle "through which a bird could hardly make its way." Supplies were abundant; indeed, (though this is probably an exaggeration), there was said to be grain, salt, *ghī*, tobacco, cloth, and firewood sufficient for twenty years. When the siege was imminent, Curāman had forced all merchants and traders, with their families, to quit the place, leaving their goods behind them. Curāman made himself personally responsible for their compensation if he gained the day, and as the property could not be removed, the owners gave their consent without much demur.<sup>4</sup>

Curāman's son, Muḥkam Singh, and his nephew, Rūpā, issued from the fort and gave battle in the open. In his report of the 7th Muḥarram, 1129 H. (21st December, 1716), the Rājah claimed a victory. He next cut down all the trees round the fort, and erected a large number of

<sup>1</sup> Thūn does not seem to be well known now. Can it be the Toond of the Indian Atlas, Sheet 50, between Dīg and Gobardhan? Or is it Jatolee Thoon, 8 miles west of Sansanī? An 18th century writer remarks: "Il y a encore (1767) un Thoun, mais dans un autre endroit, peut-être pour conserver la mémoire d'une place qui, quoique malheureuse, n'a pas donnē peu de reputation aux Jats," Orme Collections, p. 4218.

<sup>2</sup> Mace bearers were sent to fetch him on the 27th Rabī' II. 1128 H. (19th April, 1716), Kāmwar Khān, 140, 163, *Ma, āṣir-ul-umarā*, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 293.

<sup>3</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 140, 168, Shiū Dās, 11b.

<sup>4</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 168, Shiū Dās, 12b. Hoḍal, 18 or 19 m. S. of Palwal, Indian

small guardhouses, in which he placed his men. A large cannon, said to throw a ball weighing a Shāhjahānī maund,<sup>1</sup> was sent to him, being escorted with great ceremony from Palwal to Hoḍal, whence it was taken on to Thūn by Nuṣrat Yār Khān, the Deputy Governor of Āgrah. Three hundred maunds of gunpowder, one hundred and fifty maunds of lead and five hundred rockets were ordered to be sent from the arsenal at Āgrah. At first 'Abd-uṣ-ṣamad Khān, Governor of Lāhor, was recalled from the Panjāb, but after he had reached Dihlī, the idea of sending him was abandoned, and Sayyad Muḏaffar Khān, Khān Jahān, maternal uncle of the two Sayyads and then Governor of Ajmer, was summoned to take his place. The Sayyad was despatched to Thūn on the 30th Muḥarram 1129 H. (13th June, 1717).<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the investment of Thūn, the roads were not cleared of robbers. The other zamīndārs and villagers took Curāman's part; they pillaged travellers and plundered villages. For instance, a caravan of merchants arrived at Hoḍal, consisting of thirteen hundred carts loaded with leather bottles full of clarified butter. Instead of giving the usual notice to Sanjar Khān, the owners started for Palwal, in the belief that their own one thousand matchlockmen would suffice. When two or three kos from Hoḍal, they were surrounded, the armed guards threw down their guns and fled, while the Jāṭs and other plunderers drove off the carts into the neighbouring villages. About twenty lakhs' worth of property, as the owners asserted, had been taken. Sanjar Khān soon reached the spot with his troops, but he was afraid to enter the villages, because they were in the *jāgīrs* of the Wāzīr, Quṭb-ul-mulk, and of Khān Daurān.<sup>3</sup>

Rājah Jai Singh Sawāe was never distinguished as a soldier or general in the field, and in spite of all he could do, the siege dragged on for twenty months. The rains of 1717 were very late in coming, prices rose very high, and great expense fell upon the Rājah in bringing supplies from his own country of Amber. In Ṣafar 1130 H. (January 1718), the Rājah reported that he had many encounters with the Jāṭs, in which he had overcome them, but owing to support given to them at

Atlas Sheet No. 50; Farīdābād, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49 S.E.; Narwar, Thornton, 685, 210 m. S. of Dihlī, the Narwar Rājah was a Kachwāha; Bondī, Thornton, 1410, 245 m. S.W. of Dihlī; Kotah, Thornton, 525, 265 m. S. of Dihlī, Palwal, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49 S.E.

<sup>1</sup> The maund or, more properly, *man*, is of about 80 pounds.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abd-uṣ-ṣamad Khān reached Dihlī on the 12th Muḥarram, Sayyad Khān Jahān on the 25th, (Kāmwar Khān, 169). Khāfī Khān, II, 777, says, Sayyad Khān Jahān delayed two or three months outside the city before he finally started.

<sup>3</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 168, 169, 175.

Court, they were not inclined to yield. And, no doubt, the presence of Khān Jahān, a near relation to the Wazīr, caused a division of authority which was fatal to success. At length Curāman made overtures to Quṭb-ul-mulk through his agent at Dihlī, offering a tribute of thirty lakhs of rupees to the Government and a present of twenty lakhs for the minister himself. Thereupon Quṭb-ul-mulk espoused the Jāt's cause. He represented to Farrukhsīyar that Rājah Jai Singh had received a large amount of money and that the monthly expenses were very heavy. Yet, although twenty months had elapsed, no definite result had been arrived at. Very reluctantly Farrukhsīyar consented to the terms offered. Sayyad Khān Jahān was written to, directing him to bring Curāman to Court, with his sons and brothers' sons, after having protected the whole of his property from pillage. At the same time a flattering *farmān* was despatched to Rājah Jai Singh, thanking him for his exertions, informing him that Curāman had made overtures which had been accepted, and that all hostilities must cease. By this time Rājah Jai Singh believed that victory was within his grasp, and now, by this negotiation over his head, the whole fruit of his labour was taken from him! Although inwardly raging, he obeyed orders, withdrew his men, and raised the siege.<sup>1</sup>

Quṭb-ul-mulk's ill-will to Rājah Jai Singh is said to have arisen in the following way. When the Rājah first came to Farrukhsīyar's court, he found himself very favourably received by the new Emperor. In former reigns a noble, when he found the sovereign gracious to him, never thought of paying court to anyone else. Believing himself secure in the Emperor's good graces, Rājah Jai Singh neglected to ask for the support and favour of Quṭb-ul-mulk. The Wazīr resented this neglect. He was further vexed about the campaign against Curāman, a matter on which his advice had not been asked. Thus he privately applied himself to prevent the Rājah from reaping the reward of his undertaking. He instructed Khān Jahān, his kinsman, accordingly, and it is said that Curāman was secretly aided with supplies of food and powder. After more than eighteen months of exertion, nothing had been effected. Farrukhsīyar grew angry, as he believed the conquest to be an easy one; and on several occasions, Quṭb-ul-mulk made covert allusions to the effect that the task was one beyond Jai Singh's strength. In the end Curāman's proposals were brought forward and accepted as already stated.<sup>2</sup>

On the 10th Jamādī I, 1130 H. (10th April, 1718) Khān Jahān

<sup>1</sup> Shiū Dās' 14b, 15b (where there is a copy of the *Hasb-u-l hukm*, and 15a (copy of *Farmān*), Khāfī Khān, II, 777, Mirzā Muḥammad, 352.

<sup>2</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad, 352.

arrived at Dihli with Curāman and his nephew, Rūpā. They went first to visit Quṭb-ul-mulk, which angered Farrukhsīyar very much. On the 19th (19th April, 1718) the formal presentation to the Emperor took place, the introduction being made by Quṭb-ul-mulk. Farrukhsīyar granted this audience very ungraciously, and absolutely refused to see Curāman a second time. Two days afterwards Sayyad Khān Jahān, in return for his services, received the addition to his titles of the word "Bahādur" and was promoted to 5,000 horse. On the 30th (30th April, 1718) it was settled through Quṭb-ul-mulk that the Jāt leader should pay fifty lakhs of rupees in cash and goods, to be liquidated by instalments. Rājah Jai Singh and Māhārāo Bhīm Singh returned to Dihli from Thūn on the 29th Jamādī II, (29th May, 1718)<sup>1</sup>

SECTION 21.—RENEWAL OF INTRIGUES AGAINST THE SAYYADS.

July 1715—April 1718.

With the return to court, on the 11th Jamādī II, 1127 H. (13th June 1715), of Nizām-ul-mulk, after his supercession by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in the government of the Dakhin, the plots against the two brothers once more commenced. Nizām-ul-mulk was angry at losing the Dakhin. This is betrayed by the fact that when he was on his march to Dihli, although Ḥusain 'Alī Khān passed him at a distance of only a few miles, he failed to visit the latter. According to the customs of the country this was most disrespectful, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān being his superior in rank. At court Nizām-ul-mulk, who had been trained in the school of 'Ālamgīr, found it difficult to remain on good terms with the men in Farrukhsīyar's confidence, and when in Jamādī I, 1129 H. (April 1717), he was made *faujdār* of the Murādābād *chaklah*, he elected to proceed there in person, instead of appointing a deputy.<sup>2</sup>

During these two years (1715–17) the Emperor started on many hunting expeditions, of which the principal object was supposed to be the finding an opportunity to make away with 'Abdullah Khān. Farrukhsīyar was absent from Dihli for a month, from the 21st Rajab to the 25th Sha'bān 1127 H. (22nd July—25th August 1715), being then forced to return by illness.<sup>3</sup> It was during this expedition that the secret orders already spoken of were issued to Dāūd Khān to resist Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, Nizām-ul-mulk having been taken into council for this purpose. 'Abdullah Khān, during the interval, enlisted fresh troops and prepared to defend himself. Since, after waiting a month, no

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 177, Khāfi Khān, II, 777.

<sup>2</sup> Nizām-ul-mulk returned to Court on the 29th September, 1718, see forward Section 28. Kāmwar Khān, 156, Mirzā Muḥammad, 393.

<sup>3</sup> His principal halting-places had been the Quṭb, Sarāe Bādli, and Pānīpat.



news came from Dāūd Khān, and Farrukhsīyar's ailment had increased, he was forced to return to Dihli. Then on the 10th Shawwāl 1127 H. (8th October, 1715) came the report from the Dakhin that on the 8th Ramazān (6th September, 1715) Dāūd Khān, Paunī, had been defeated and slain by Husain 'Alī Khān near Burhānpur. Four days afterwards (12th October, 1715) 'Abdullah Khān, who had been a great deal absent from *darbār*, presented himself at audience, laid offerings before the Emperor, and congratulated him upon the recent victory over the rebel, Dāūd Khān. False speeches were made and lying compliments exchanged between Emperor and Wazīr. The secret cause of Dāūd Khān's resistance was already known to the Wazīr, and the seeds of fresh ill-will had been sown in both their hearts. One story is that Farrukhsīyar, in Quṭb-ul-mulk's presence, said it was a pity that such a brave man as Dāūd Khān should have been slain. To this the Wazīr retorted: "I suppose, if my brother had been slain instead, it would have been a good thing and acceptable to your Majesty?"<sup>1</sup>

It seems that after Dāūd Khān's death, his belongings fell into the hands of Husain 'Alī Khān. Among these the Sayyad's servants found several letters from Khān Daurān, and an imperial *farmān* granting the Government of the Dakhin to Dāūd Khān. These papers were sent to Quṭb-ul-mulk, who began at once to raise troops and prepared for resistance. Khān Daurān was deputed to conciliate him. At their interview, Quṭb-ul-mulk complained of the parcel of beggars' sons, newly risen in the world, who employed their time in slander and detraction. What good could result? Khān Daurān replied, "Who is the wretched creature? No man worthy the name of man resorts to slander." Quṭb-ul-mulk placed in his hand the original letters to Dāūd Khān, and said: "Look at these, who is the writer?" Khān Daurān unfolded them and began to read. As he did so, the sweat stood on his face like drops of dew, and his face flushed a deep red. After a moment's silence, he began a defence founded on obedience to the Emperor's orders. "When his sovereign ordered, how could he dare to disobey?" In short, he talked much, but was encountered by Quṭb-ul-mulk at every turn, until he was reduced to silence and took his departure.

#### SECTION 22.—RETURN OF MĪR JUMLAH TO DIHLĪ.

Part of the compact which ended the first quarrel between the Emperor and his minister, was the dismissal from court of Mīr Jumlah, who was appointed governor of Patnah 'Azīmābād. He left Dihli in

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-ul-Mutākharrīn*, 29, Briggs, 126, Kāmwar Khān, 157, 158, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 204.

Zū-l-Hijjah 1126 H. (December, 1714), and his doings at Paṭnah will be spoken of when we come to deal with events in the provinces. Suffice it to say here, that owing to his reckless mismanagement, Mīr Jumlah was soon unable to meet the pay of the large and turbulent force of Mughals that he had taken with him to Paṭnah. Partly to escape from their demands, and partly, as is believed, in obedience to a secret letter from Farrukhsīyar, he prepared to leave his government and return to Dihlī.<sup>1</sup> As far as Benares he came openly, but at that place, leaving everyone behind, he started for Dihlī in a covered litter such as is used by women. In nine days he was at Dihlī, which he entered secretly during the night of the 22nd Muḥarram 1128 H. (16th January, 1716). He had left no time for the Wazīr to hear of his starting or forbid his coming. Rumours of his arrival spread through the city, and Farrukhsīyar, when made aware of it the next morning, expressed no disapproval. It was currently believed that, in reality, he was more pleased than he dared to show.<sup>2</sup>

When Quṭb-ul-Mulk learnt that Mīr Jumlah was again in Dihlī, he went at once to the Emperor. Farrukhsīyar swore the most solemn oaths that he had not sent for the man. To this Quṭb-ul-mulk answered that whatever His Majesty might wish was no doubt right and proper, but he might look on the speedy return of Ḥusain 'Alī Khan as an absolute certainty. The Emperor, greatly frightened at the prospect, sent officers with peremptory orders to Mīr Jumlah to withdraw to Lāhor.<sup>3</sup>

Mīr Jumlah procrastinated, and thus day after day passed. At length, either of themselves or at his instigation, his Mughal troops, seven or eight thousand in number, broke into revolt. They said that the whole of their pay was still due from the treasury, and the proper person to represent them was Mīr Jumlah, their commander, and until their arrears were paid, they would not allow him to stir one step. The houses of Muhammad Amīn Khan, second *Bakhshī*, and of Khan Daurān,

<sup>1</sup> The *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 118a, seems to say that by this time Mīr Jumlah had been removed from his appointment, and made instead *faujdār* of Benares.

<sup>2</sup> Word of Mīr Jumlah's arrival was brought to Mirzā Muḥammad that same night by his relation, Mḥd Mīr, who had been in the Nawāb's service at Paṭnah, Mirzā Muḥammad, 237, Wheeler, 178.

<sup>3</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad, 243. The account in the *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 118b, differs from all others. There we are told that from Farīdābād, a distance of 10 kos from Dihlī, Mīr Jumlah petitioned for an audience. Angry at Mīr Jumlah's leaving his post without orders, Farrukhsīyar despatched mace-bearers with orders to conduct the fugitive to the fortress of Gwāliyār, and bring back a receipt from the commandant. Quṭb-ul-mulk and others then interceded, the offender was pardoned, but no audience was granted. At length, he was ordered to withdraw to his estates.

deputy of the first *Bakhshī*, were also surrounded. The disturbance was prolonged for a month; and as the house, known as *Āṣaf-ud-daulah's*, in which *Mir Jumlah* resided, was close to the palace, he was forced in the end of *Ṣafar* to move to another house that he owned, called *Fidāe Khān's*, near *Khārī Bāoli*.<sup>1</sup> At this house the whole of the *Mughals* congregated, their leaders being *Sayyad Faṭhullah Khān*, *Khweshgī*, and *Bahādur Dil Khān*.<sup>2</sup> For many days, especially on the 1st *Rabī' I.* (23rd February, 1716), the uproar in the city was indescribable, the streets being filled with *Mughal* horsemen fully armed and clad in mail. As it was thought that this outbreak would be used as a pretext for an armed attack on his house, *Quṭb-ul-mulk* fortified himself in his quarter of the city, and increased the number of his troops; while his son-in-law and nephew, *Ghairat Khān*, who had lately been appointed *faujdar* of *Nārnol*, returned to *Dihlī*, to take part in his uncle's defence. The Emperor placed his personal guards, called the *Haft Caukī*, on permanent duty at the palace; and when *Quṭb-ul-mulk* or *Khān Daurān* went to audience, they were accompanied by the whole of their troops. *Mir Jumlah* took fright at the aspect of affairs and sought refuge in *Muhammad Amīn Khān's* house. At length it was decided that ten *lakhs* of rupees should be paid to the men, in order to get rid in this way of *Mir Jumlah*, with whom, owing to this conduct, *Farrukhsiyar* professed to be very angry. All his titles were taken from him; and he was removed from the offices of *Dāroghah* of the Pages (*Khawāṣ*) and *Dāroghah* of the Post Office (*Dāk*), which were conferred on his deputies, *Amīn-ud-dīn Khān*, *Bahādur*, and *Mirza Khān*. His government of *'Azīmābād Patnah* was transferred to *Sarbuland Khān*.<sup>3</sup>

On the 9th *Rabī' I.* 1128 H. (3rd March, 1716), *Mir Jumlah* moved to *Nizām-ul-mulk's* house, and next day that noble conducted him as far as *Narelah*,<sup>4</sup> and thence sent him on to *Sihriind*. At that place he delayed seven or eight months, putting up in the common roadside *sarāe* in the hope of exciting *Farrukhsiyar's* commiseration, but finally, by express order, he was forced to move on to *Lāhor*. His titles were not

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this Bitter Well (*Khārī Bāoli*) lies behind and to the west of the *Jāmi 'Masjid*; see map of *Dihlī* city in C. T. Metcalfe's "Two Narratives."

<sup>2</sup> This is *Lāchīn Beg*, known as the *tasmah-kash* or "strap-twister" (strangler).

<sup>3</sup> *Mirzā Muḥammad*, 253, *Khāfi Khān*, II, 770, *Siyar-ul-mutākharrīn*, 29, Briggs, 129.

<sup>4</sup> *Narelah*, Indian Atlas Sheet 49 N.E., 16 m. N. of *Dihlī*. *Kāmwar Khān*, 162, says *Nizām-ul-mulk* and *Hāmid Khān* only went as far as *'Mandavī-i-namak* (the Salt Market). *Farrukhsiyar* ordered *Shamsher Khān*, *Afghān*, to conduct *Mir Jumlah* to *Lāhor*, *Kāmwar Khān*, entry of 7th *Rabī' I.*, 1128 H.

restored until the 21st Jamādī, II, 1128 H., (11th June, 1716), on the intercession of Quṭb-ul-mulk, who at the same time obtained for him a *jāgīr* of three *lakhs* of rupees. The Mughals sought service where they could. Their principal officer, Bahādur Dil Khān, was for a time with Quṭb-ul-mulk, but not succeeding to his wishes, he transferred himself to Khān Daurān. In that service he stopped for a long time, without having any influence; he was then ordered to join Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in the Dakhin.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 23.—CONTINUATION OF THE PLOTS.

As soon as the disturbance raised by Mir Jumlah's return had been allayed, another hunting expedition was planned. At once the word passed from house to house and from tent to tent, that during the journey the arrest of Quṭb-ul-mulk would be arranged. Farrukhsīyar moved to the Shālihmar garden at Āgharābād<sup>2</sup> on the 6th Rabī' II, 1128 H. (29th March, 1716), and thence on the 10th, six *kos* further on, to Siūli. He returned to Āgharābād on the 26th, and it was here that the fight took place on the 29th (21st April, 1716) between the retainers of Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah and Muhammad Amīn Khān, as already related. Farrukhsīyar returned to the palace on the 11th Jamādī II, (1st June, 1716). An urgent messenger had been sent on the 7th Rabī' II (20th March) to bring Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, from Mālwah, and on the 14th Jamādī II (4th June) the Rājah was reported to be at Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān; he was received in audience two days afterwards, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah conducting him from his camp near the 'Īdgāh.<sup>3</sup> Shortly afterwards Rāo Rājah Budh Singh, Hāḍah, of Būndī, arrived. He had been expelled by Mahārājah Bhīm Singh, Hāḍah, of Kotah. Jai Singh introduced the fugitive to the Emperor and obtained for him promises of succour. Every day Rājah Jai Singh seemed to rise in Farrukhsīyar's estimation. Finally, on the 9th Shawwāl (25th September, 1716), he was entrusted with the crushing of Curāman, Jāt, under the circumstances and with the results already recorded.<sup>4</sup>

Again the Emperor quitted Dihli on the 24th Muḥarram 1129 H. (7th January, 1717), camping first at Masjid Mochiyah. On the 17th

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 161, 165, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 253. Lāchīn Beg (Bahādur Dil Khān) turns up in the Dakhin in 1137 H. under Nīzām-ul-mulk (battle with Mubārīz Khān), see Khāfī Khān, II., 954.

<sup>2</sup> 'Āgharābād, a mile or two north of the city; Siūli; Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Īdgāh lies three-quarters of a mile west of the city wall; See plate 47 in Constable's "Hand Atlas," and plate I in Carr Stephen, "Archæology of Dihli."

<sup>4</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 260, 275, 293, 302, Kāmwar Khān, 163, 165, Khāfī Khān, II, 771, Ijād 43a.

Şafar (30th January, 1717) he was at Narelah, and there 'Ināyatullah Khān, Kashmīrī, formerly *Dīwān* of the *Khālīṣah*, was received on his return from pilgrimage to Makkah, where he had gone early in the reign, on his own removal from office and the execution of his son, Sa'd-ullah Khān. Farrukhsīyar was now of opinion that it had been a mistake to remove all the old officials, and that they would have furnished a useful counterpoise to the overwhelming influence of the Sayyads. 'Ināyatullah Khān's return was, therefore, very welcome. He was received into favour, and the disparaging remarks, entered in the official history of the reign in regard to his son, were expunged by the Emperor's own hand.<sup>1</sup> On the 27th Şafar (9th February, 1717) Farrukhsīyar was at Koedalī, and from the 7th to the 13th Rabi' I, (18th to 23rd February) near Sonpat. He marched to Siūli on the 26th of that month (9th March, 1717), to Narelah on the 1st Rabi' II, back to Āgharābād on the 3rd, finally re-entering the palace on the 29th of that month (11th April). I'tiṣām Khān, a protégé of Khān Daurān's, had just resigned the office of *Dīwān*, worn out with his struggles against undue influence. The next day 'Ināyatullah Khān was given the rank of 4,000, 3,000 horse, and appointed to be *Dīwān* of the *Khālīṣah* and the *Tan*, also to be Governor of Kashmīr, the latter appointment to be exercised by deputy.<sup>2</sup>

'Ināyatullah Khān's appointment was displeasing to Quṭb-ul-mulk, who recollected his harsh behaviour to Asad Khān in 'Ālamgīr's reign. But Ikhlas Khān, then on very intimate terms with the minister, intervened and effected a reconciliation. 'Ināyatullah Khān undertook to do nothing without the knowledge and consent of Quṭb-ul-mulk, and to make no appointments independent of him. On the other hand, it was stipulated that Ratn Cand should not interfere with the work of the *Khālīṣah* Office; and as Quṭb-ul-mulk was naturally indolent and fond of pleasure, being furthermore discouraged by the Emperor's conduct, four or five months would sometimes elapse before he attended at his public office to sign papers, business remaining meanwhile at a standstill. A promise was now made by him that he would come to the office in the palace once or twice a week. For a time the compact was observed, but events soon came to pass which put an end to the truce.<sup>3</sup>

First of all, much to the disgust of Ratn Cand and the other Hindū officials, the *jizyah*, or poll-tax on non-Mahomedans, was

<sup>1</sup> For 'Ināyatullah Khān, see *Ma'āşir-ul-umarā*, II, 828.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 773, Kāmwar Khān, 171.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 774.

reimposed.<sup>1</sup> Next 'Inayātullah Khān endeavoured to reform the system of *jāgīrs*, or assignments of land revenue in payment for service. The Hindūs and eunuchs and Kashmīrīs, by fraud and force, had acquired rank beyond their deserts, and accumulated in their hands all the most profitable and easily managed *jāgīrs*, reducing in a corresponding degree the chances of everybody else. 'Ināyatullah Khān, after drawing up some comparative tables, meant to reduce or set aside these excessive grants. Ratn Cand and other officials were angry at these attempts to reduce their incomes, and on their persuasion Quṭb-ul-mulk refused to ratify the scheme. After this time, the Hindūs put every obstacle in the *Dīwān's* way, the agreement between him and the minister ceased to operate, and peace was maintained with difficulty.

During this and the preceding reign, that of Jahāndār Shāh, the strict rules and regulations for business in all departments were much neglected. Most of the men who knew the old routine had disappeared by death or dismissal. The Wazīr was not a trained administrator himself, and paid little or no attention to civil business; Ratn Cand had been allowed to do almost what he liked. His views were narrow, and he was chiefly governed by personal considerations. For several reigns the Emperors had devoted all their efforts to break down the custom of farming out the collection of the revenue. They had tried on all occasions to substitute direct management by paid servants of the State, bearing in mind the truth of the adage, *amānī ābādānī, ijārah ujārā*.<sup>2</sup> As a result their treasury was full, their subjects contented, and their army well paid. These arrangements were now set aside, and the collections leased by Ratn Cand to the highest bidder.<sup>3</sup> In consequence the revenue fell off, both of the State domains and of the assigned lands, and many *jāgīrdārs* complained to the Emperor of the non-receipt of their allowances. During his term of office, Luṭfullah Khān had only made matters worse by granting to *manṣabdārs* holding the rank of from 50 to 1,000, a sum of fifty rupees a month, instead of their assignments on the revenue. This money, considering the high prices, did not

<sup>1</sup> See Note A at the end of this Section, on the *Jizyah* tax, and Khāfī Khān, II, 775.

<sup>2</sup> Roebuck, No. 110, II, page 106, "Direct management brings prosperity; farming out, ruin."

<sup>3</sup> We find unexpected confirmation of this accusation against Ratn Cand in Mr. E. Thurston's paper on the East India Company's coinage. Ratn Cand was the first to farm out the Benares mint, with the effect of causing the coinage to be re-minted yearly, in order to increase the farmers' profits. [Journal As. Soc., Bengal, Vol. LXII., Part I. (1893), p. 55.]

suffice to meet their expenses, and, as we must remember, it was no doubt very irregularly paid.<sup>1</sup>

According to Yaḥyā Khān, one of Farrukhsiyar's grievances against 'Abdullah Khān was, that whenever he appointed an 'āmil, he took from the appointee a writing<sup>2</sup> in the nature of a contract or lease, and realized the money from the man's banker. This practice was held, rightly enough, to be destructive to the prosperity of the district to which the man was sent. The Emperor requested that it might be abandoned, and that in place of it, all appointments should be made *amānī*, that is, should involve complete accounting for gross receipts and expenses, and for the resulting balance. 'Abdullah Khān refused. He also offered a passive resistance to the re-imposition of the *Jizyah*, or poll tax.<sup>3</sup>

About this time a subordinate of the *Khālīṣah* office, a protégé of Ratn Cand, was called upon to file his accounts, and a large sum was brought out by the auditors as owing by him. 'Ināyatullah Khān imprisoned this defaulter and, in spite of repeated messages from Ratn Cand, refused to release him. One day, the man evaded his guards and took refuge in the house of Ratn Cand. With the Emperor's sanction, armed messengers were sent to bring the fugitive from his protector's house, but the Wazir's *Dīwān* refused to surrender him. Between the Emperor and the minister there was an angry interview, and the latter was ordered to dismiss Ratn Cand, but nothing came of it.

In pursuance of the plan to restore the older men to office, Sayyad Amīr Khān, 'Ulwi, who was then fort-commander at Āgrah, was recalled to Court; he and his relations were presented on the 9th Rajab 1129 H. (18th June, 1717).<sup>4</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad who, as a page, had served under this man in 'Ālamgīr's reign, was of opinion that his age (he being then seventy-four) and his failing memory, rendered him unfit for active employment. Ṣamsām-ud-daulah being of the same opinion, and seeing that the old man could never become a dangerous rival, pushed his claims, and as Quṭb-ul-mulk was displeased with Amīn-ud-dīn Khān,<sup>5</sup> obtained for him that noble's office of *Dāroghah*

<sup>1</sup> *Khūshḥāl Cand*, 399b.

<sup>2</sup> *Khāt-i-ant* (?), this is some Hindī word, *query* read, "a note of hand."

<sup>3</sup> Yaḥyā Khān, fol. 123 b.

<sup>4</sup> The popular rumour was that Ṣamsām-ud-daulah had fallen into disgrace, and would soon be supplanted in his office of *Dāroghah* of the Privy Audience Chamber by Sayyad Amīr Khān.

<sup>5</sup> Amīn-ud-dīn Khān obtained re-employment two months afterwards (Mirzā Muḥammad, 331), and on the 29th Zul-Hijjah 1129H. (3rd December, 1718) he was made *Buyutāt* of the *Rikāb* (*i.e.*, the Court) and of Dihlī.

of the *Khawāṣ*, or pages, 15th Shawwāl 1129 H. (21st September, 1717). Farrukhsīyar's consent to this change was only reluctantly given.<sup>1</sup> Other appointments of old officials were those of Muḥammad Yār *Khān*, grandson of Āṣaf *Khān*, Yamin-ud-daulah,<sup>2</sup> to be *Khānsāmān*, and of Ḥamid-ud-dīn *Khān*, 'Ālamgīrī,<sup>3</sup> to be 'Arz Mukarrar, 29th Shābān 1128 H. (17th August, 1716). As already related, it was about this time that the ending of the campaign against Curāman, Jāt, through the intrigues of Quṭb-ul-mulk and Sayyad *Khān* Jahān (April 10th, 1718), added fresh fuel to Farrukhsīyar's anger.<sup>4</sup>

*Note A. The Jazīyah or Poll Tax.*

The *jazīyah* tax was re-imposed by 'Ālamgīr in his twenty-second year (1090 H., 1679-80),<sup>5</sup> and thus it had been levied for thirty-four years when it was abolished again in the first year of Farrukhsīyar.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Mīrzā Muḥammad, 319, Sayyad Amīr *Khān*'s name was Abd-ul-karīm; he was the son of Amīr *Khān*, son of Qāsim *Khān*, Namakīn. His father died when he was very young; he long received a daily allowance, and eventually obtaining a small *manṣab*, rose gradually under 'Ālamgīr, and gained the title of Tanak (or Muṭṭifāt) *Khān*. He succeeded Anwar *Khān* as superintendent of the pages, an office that he held for more than fifteen years and up to the death of 'Ālamgīr. He had become *Khānahzād* *Khān*, Ḥāfiz, and finally Amīr *Khān*. In Bahādur Shāh's reign he was *ṣūbahdār* of Āgrah, up to the end of the reign. In Jahāndār Shāh's reign he was replaced by Muḥammad Māh (A'zam *Khān*), and transferred to charge of the Āgrah fort. From their residence in Sind, his family bore the epithet of Sindhī, although really they were Sayyads from Hirāt. There are the following biographies in the *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*: Amīr *Khān*, Sindhī, I., 303, Qāsim *Khān* (Mīr Ab'ul Qāsim), Namakīn, III., 74, Amīr *Khān* (Mīr Ab'ul Baqā), d. 1057 H., I 172. For an explanation of the epithet "Namakīn" (not "Tamkīn"), see Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I., 470, and table on p. 471. Amīr *Khān* was not long at Court; on the 10th Rabī' I., 1130 H. (Kāmwar *Khān*, 176) he was replaced by Muḥammad Murād; and on the 9th Jamādī I., 1130 H. (id. 177), was sent back to Āgrah as fort commandant. He died on the 28th Zu'l Qa'dah 1132 H. (30th September, 1720), aged 77 years, and the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* describes him as the son-in-law of Mir 'Isā, Himmat *Khān* (d. 1092 H.) Mīr Bakhshī, son of Islām *Khān*, Badakhshī (d. 1072 H.)

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Yār *Khān* (son of Mīrzā Bahmanyār), *ṣūbahdār* of Dihlī, *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, III. 706. His son Ḥasan Yār *Khān* died young (*Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*, d. 15th-20th Ṣafār 1133 H. aged about 40), and he had no other issue. Muḥammad Yār *Khān* himself died 18th Jamādī I, 1138 H. at Dihlī. There are the following biographies of this family in the *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*; Āṣaf *Khān*, I, 151, d. 1051 H.; 'Itiqād *Khān*, I, 232, d. 1082 H.; Muḥammad Yār *Khān*, III., 700, d. 1138 H.

<sup>3</sup> For Ḥamid-ud-dīn *Khān*, 'Ālamgīrī, see *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 605.

<sup>4</sup> *Khāfī* *Khān*, II., 775, 776, Shiū Dās, 17a, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 293, 319, 228, Kāmwar *Khān*, 172.

<sup>5</sup> *Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 174.

<sup>6</sup> British Museum, Oriental MS. No. 1690, fol. 163b.



'Alamgīr's rules were, no doubt, revived upon its re-introduction through 'Ināyatullah Khān: and here, as in many of his other regulations, 'Alamgīr, a bigoted Mahomedan, studied to imitate as closely as possible the methods laid down by the orthodox doctors of that religion. The exemptions seem to have been numerous. They comprised men of Rūm possessing revealed Scriptures (*i.e.*, Jews and Christians), the "idol worshippers of 'Ajam and of 'Arab" (whoever they were), apostates, minors, women, slaves, the helpless, the maimed, the blind, the blemished, or the aged poor.

Persons paying the yearly impost were divided into three classes: (I) The poor, (II) the middle class, (III) the rich. The rates were respectively 12, 24, and 48 *dirhams*. But as there was no *dirham* current in India, uncoined silver was to be taken: from the first class, 3 *tolchah*,  $1\frac{4}{5}$  *māsha*, double that weight from the second, and four times from the third class. Rupees were not to be demanded. But if anyone offered them, they were to be received equal to the above weight of silver.<sup>1</sup>

Poor, middle class, and rich were defined as follows: a poor man was he who had either nothing at all, or property worth two hundred *dirhams*; a middle class man, he who had property worth between 200 and 10,000 *dirhams*; a rich man, he who had over 10,000 *dirhams*' worth of property. A poor man, who had nothing but the strength of his own right arm to rely on, or who had many children, was to be excused.

Precise rules for the manner of collection were laid down. These must have been exceedingly galling to the better class of Hindus, and here, no doubt, is to be found a substantial reason for the exceeding unpopularity of the tax. The person paying (styled, of course, a *zimmī*, in itself a stigma) must appear in person, bare-footed, the collector being seated and the tax-payer standing. The collector, placing his hand upon the *zimmī's* hand, lifted up the money, and pronounced a formula in Arabic, signifying, "I accept the poll-tax from this dependant." Money sent through another person must be refused.

Collection was made from the first class in four, the second class in two, and the third class in one instalment. The tax ceased either on

<sup>1</sup> As to the *dirham*, see C. J. Rodgers' "Catalogue of Lāhor Museum," p. 206, for a coin stamped *dirham shara'i*, or legal drachma, struck at Lāhor in Farrukh sīyar's 6th year (1129 H.), possibly in connection with the revival of the *jazīyah* tax in that year. It is a square coin weighing  $41\frac{1}{2}$  grains. Taking Farrukhsīyar's rupee as equal to 176 grains, the value of the *dirham* comes out at .23 of a rupee, or 3 annas and 8 pies. But the weight of silver claimed makes the three classes of the tax equivalent to Rs. 3-3-6, Rs. 6-7-0, and Rs. 12-14-0, respectively, instead of Rs. 2-12-0, Rs. 5-8-0, and Rs. 11-0-0 as they would be by the above *dirham-i-shara'i*.

death, or on the acceptance of Islām. If a minor became of full age, a slave was emancipated, or a sick man was restored to health before the date of collection, the tax was levied. If these events happened after that date, the tax was remitted for that year. If a man fell from the class of rich to that of poor men, and the change applied to part of the year only, the rate levied was to be the mean between that of the class he had left and of that he had entered. If a poor taxpayer was ill for half the year he paid nothing. Servants of the Government, with their children living in their house, were altogether exempt. As Khushhāl Chand remarks, the tax-collectors, in spite of these wise orders, were guilty of exactions, and at the beginning of every year levied money, even from widows, under the pretext of expenses.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 24.—SUDDEN RISE OF MUHAMMAD MURĀD, KASHMĪRĪ.

With his usual changeableness, Farrukhsīyar now chose a new favourite, on whose exertions he founded great expectations. This man's rise is usually accounted for in the following way. The Emperor had lately planned to send Muḥammad Amīn Khān to take the place of Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, as governor of Mālwah, with the object of barring, if necessary, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's return from the Dakhin to Dihli. 'Azīm-ullah Khān, Naṣīr-ullah Khān, and other nobles were placed under his orders. As was usually the case, the new governor spent a great deal of time in preparation, and showed no great readiness to start. Farrukhsīyar betrayed his impatience at this delay, and Muḥammad Murād Khān, then the third *Mīr Tozak* or chamberlain, offered to induce Muḥammad Amīn Khān to begin his march. The man was loud-voiced and foul-mouthed, as most Kashmirīs are reputed to be; but at first his violent language failed in effect. He returned to the Emperor with bitter complaints, and on his advice, Farrukhsīyar ventured to dismiss Muḥammad Amīn Khān from his office of second Bakhshī, and appointed instead Islām Khān (son of the late Āṣaf Khān, son of Mir 'Abd-us-salam, Islām Khān, *wazīr* to Shāh Jahān), Fidāe Khān (son of Ṣalābat Khān deceased), being promoted to Islām Khān's office of first *Mīr Tozak*. Muḥammad Murād himself replaced Fidāe Khān as second *Mīr Tozak*, with a rise of 500 in rank, making him 3,000 *zāt*.<sup>2</sup> The result of these measures was that Muḥammad Amīn Khān

<sup>1</sup> Khushhāl Cand, B.M. Or 3288, fol. 286a. The popular belief is that the Mahomedan tax-gatherer made the *zimmī* open his mouth, and spat into it.

<sup>2</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 338. Kāmwar Khān, 174, has these changes on the 30th Muḥarram 1130 H. (31st December, 1717). For Islām Khān, *Wazīr*, d. 1057 H.

began his march for Mālwah. Farrukhsiyar, himself the most cowardly of men, looked on this feat as heroic, and Muḥammad Murād became at once in his eyes the right man for a desperate undertaking. Possibly there is some truth in the above story, as accounting for Muḥammad Murād's exaltation, for the time of his rise and of Muhammad Amin Khān's departure coincide almost exactly.<sup>1</sup>

This Muḥammad Murād, already a man of about sixty-two years of age, was a native of Kashmīr, of the tribe called Audard.<sup>2</sup> For a time he was in the employment of Mir Malik Ḥusain, Khān Jahān, Kokaltāsh,<sup>3</sup> the foster brother of 'Ālamgīr, and was agent at Court for that noble's son, Sipahdār Khān. Next, he entered the imperial service with a *manṣab* of 300, but in a year or two was dismissed. On this he came to Lāhor, where Muta'mad Khān (Mirzā Rustam)<sup>4</sup> was deputy governor for Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam (afterwards Bahādur Shāh), and obtained an introduction through Lālā Shiū Dās, Khatri, the governor's chief man of business. The rank of 500 was obtained for him. Khwājah Muḥammad Amin, Kashmīrī, who had once been also in Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh's service, having replaced Muta'mad Khān at Lāhor, Muhammad Murād's fortunes improved, for he was of the same place and race as the new deputy. This happy state of things lasted only for a year or two, until Khwājah Muḥammad Amin fell into disgrace, when Muḥammad Murād retired to Dihlī, where he lived in obscurity. On Mun'im Khān's appointment, first as *Diwān* to Prince Mu'azzam, Shāh 'Ālam, and then as his deputy at Lāhor, Muḥammad Murād, being an old friend of his, was restored to the service and returned to Lāhor, until the two men quarrelled, when he came back to Dihlī.<sup>5</sup>

Not long after this time 'Ālamgīr died, and Prince Mu'azzam, Shāh 'Ālam, with Mun'im Khān in his train, passed through Dihlī on his way to Āgrah; and Muḥammad Murād attached himself to their camp. After the victory of Jājau, Mun'im Khān obtained for his old friend the rank of 1,000, and the title of Wakālat Khān, with the

see *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I, 162, and for his son, Āṣaf (or Ṣafī) Khān, d. 1105 H., id. II, 470. For Fidāe Khān, see *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā* II, 745.

<sup>1</sup> Khāfī Khān, II, 787; Kāmwar Khān, 174, 25th Zu, l Hijjah, 1129 H. (29th November, 1717); Mirzā Muḥammad, 337-8; *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 339.

<sup>2</sup> Ibbetson, para. 557, gives the names of ten Kashmīrī tribes; the only one approaching Audard (اودرد) is the ninth, viz. Warde.

<sup>3</sup> *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 798. This Khān Jahān died in 1109 H. (1697).

<sup>4</sup> Muta'mad Khān (Rustam) was the father of Mirzā Muḥammad, the historian.

<sup>5</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad, 331; *Aḥwāl ul-khawāqīn*, 126a; *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 337, Kām Raj, 'Ibratnāmah, 63b.

office of *wakīl*, or agent at Court, to Prince Mu'izz-ud-dīn, Jahāndār Shāh. Muḥammad Murād, being a chatty, talkative man, managed to strike up a great friendship with 'Alī Murād, Kokaltāsh Khān, on whom all power in Jahāndār Shāh's household rested, "nay, he was the veritable Jahāndār Shāh," and by his aid rose to be a *Dūhazārī* (2,000), with the title of Bahādūr. In Jahāndār Shāh's reign of ten months, he was promoted to 5,000, but obtained no further favours from Kokaltāsh Khān. On Farrukhsīyar's accession Muḥammad Murād attended the Sayyad brothers, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, and through Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was maintained in the rank that he held in Bahādūr Shāh's reign (*i.e.* 2,000 *zāt*); but his former title having been given to someone else, he was created Muḥammad Murād Khān and soon afterwards received the office of fourth *Mīr Tozak*. At this time he was high in the favour of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, who procured his promotion to 2,500.

After that noble's departure for the Dakhin, Muḥammad Murād used all his endeavours to strengthen his position with the Emperor. As he was in constant attendance, he succeeded at last in joining in the Emperor's conversation, and owing to his chattiness and readiness of speech soon found a way to his heart. He also obtained favour as a compatriot of the Emperor's mother, Ṣāhibah Niswān, who was a Kashmīrī, and the first open sign of his new position was that Farrukhsīyar said one day to the great nobles in *darbār*, "You have heard, have you not, I'tiqād Khān is related by marriage to my exalted mother?" The Emperor's feeling against the Sayyads was an open secret, but the brothers being on their guard, he had been foiled hitherto in all his attempts against them. As opportunity offered, Muḥammad Murād Khān hinted to Farrukhsīyar, in guarded and metaphorical language, that Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, Khān Daurān, up to that time his very soul and the confidant of all his secrets, was in collusion with the Sayyads, and thus it was that all his plots against them were divulged. The Emperor's mind was turned against Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, and he determined to bring forward Muḥammad Murād Khān.<sup>1</sup>

On the 19th Ṣafar 1130 H. (19th January, 1718), Muḥammad Murād became *Dāroghah* of the *Harkārahs* or scouts, with the privilege of admission at all times to the Privy Audience Chamber, the chapel and secret audience room.<sup>2</sup> Having now private access to the sovereign's ear, he repeated plainly, with details, what he had formerly suggested by hints and signs. He produced many projects for the overthrow of

<sup>1</sup> *Ma'āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 339, and *Khāfī Khān*, II., 791, Yahyā Khān, 123b.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ*, the *Tasbīh Khānah* and the *Ghusal Khānah*.

the two Sayyads and offered himself to carry them into execution. Since Farrukhsiyar looked with apprehension upon everything, Muḥammed Murād boldly counselled him to take heart and not to be afraid. "Such fears," he said, "amount to a defect: you are Emperor: no one has the strength to oppose you: you should free your heart of dread, and issue whatever orders you may please."<sup>1</sup>

Another hunting expedition was planned. The Emperor moved to the mansion at Khizrabād<sup>2</sup> on the 29th Zu,<sup>1</sup> Ḥijjah (3rd Dec., 1717) and remained there for two or three weeks. It was the common talk of the town that Quṭb-ul-mulk would be seized, a task which the Emperor's advisers had persuaded him could be easily accomplished. Quṭb-ul-mulk, too, left his house with a large force of men, and camped outside the town near Kilūkahri,<sup>3</sup> by this move allaying the rumours and causing the conspirators to stay their hand. At night the Emperor sent him trays of fruit and food. Next day (23rd Dec., 1717), the advance tents were moved towards Pālam. Muḥammad Murād increased in favour. The following march (27th Muḥarram, 1130, 30th Dec., 1717) was to Masjid-i-Moth. Here the new appointments were made, by which Muḥammad Murād was advanced to second *Mir Tozak*. On the second Ṣafar (4th Jan., 1718) they reached Pālam, on the 17th they moved to Ṣadīpur, and on the 29th back to Āgharābād near the city. Nothing had been effected.<sup>4</sup>

Instead of returning to the palace the Emperor moved out from

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 175, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 337.

<sup>2</sup> Khizrabād is on the Jamnah bank, about five miles south of the Dihlī gate of Shāhjahānābād, see Carr Stephen, map, page 1. *Āṣār-uṣ-ṣanādīd* chap. III, p. 25, says it was a town built on the river bank by Khizr Khān in 861 H. (1418) A. D.). There is no trace now of any fort; possibly the site of it was that now known as Khizrabād village.

<sup>3</sup> Kilūkahri is probably the site of the palace built on the Jamnah bank by Mu'izz-ud-dīn, Kaikobād, (1286-1288), H. M. Elliot, "Bibliographical Index," 284, and *Āin* II., 279. The *Āin* says that Humāyūn's tomb is on this site, but the village itself is about 1½ miles S.E. of the tomb.

<sup>4</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 179. Pālam is in the Dihlī district, 11 miles S.W. of the city: it lies about 10 miles W. of Mothkī masjid. (Indian Atlas, Sheet 49 N.E.) Masjid-i-Moth, C. Stephen, plate opposite p. 1, is 5½ miles S.W. of the Dihlī gate of the city, id. 166, and was built in 894 H. (1488). The tradition is that a man picked up a grain of *moth*, sowed it, and in time built this mosque from the produce. Ṣadīpur, not traced; there is a Madipur on Sheet 49 N.E. of the Indian Atlas. This lies half-way between Pālam and Bādli (Āgharābād). I can find no Sadipur in that direction; but there is a Sadīpur near the 'Idgāh, west of the city, see Constable's "Hand Atlas," Plate 47. Āgharābād is N. of the city and the same as Shālihmar close to Sarāe Bādli. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 331, says the camp was for three months

Āgharābād to Siūli,<sup>1</sup> on the 1st Rabi' II. 1130 H. (3rd March, 1718); and a few days afterwards Muḥammad Murād was created I'tiqād Khān, Bahādur, Farrukhshāhī, received a standard, kettle-drums, two elephants and several horses, with the rank of 5,000, 2,000 horse, and replaced Amīr Khān as superintendent of the pages (*khawāṣ*), with the right to come and go at all hours of the day or night.<sup>2</sup> His influence increased in a marked degree every day. As one writer says, he was promoted daily; on one day to 5000, the next to 6,000, and the next to 7000.<sup>3</sup> On the 16th Rabi' II, (18th March), they came back to Āgharābād, and on the 22nd, Muḥammad Murād was made *dāroghah* of the mace-bearers. Whole nights were spent by Farrukhsīyar in conclave with Muḥammad Murād and other favourites; sometimes he did not retire to rest until break of day. As Muḥammad Murād had a bad reputation and was pointed at for secret vices, this constant companionship gave rise to undesirable reports, defamatory of a descendant of Taimūr and derogatory to the lustre of his rule. On the 21st Rabi' II, a mansion in Dihli was given to Muḥammad Murād. Finally, on the 12th Jamādī I, 1130 H. (12th April, 1718), the Emperor left Āgharābād and re-entered the palace.

Presents continued to be showered lavishly on Muḥammad Murād. On the 9th Jamādī II. (9th May, 1718), he was raised to 6,000, 5,000 horse, various gifts were added, and he was appointed *faujdar* of Jammū, with power to appoint a deputy. His son and two of his officers were given *manṣabs* of 1,000. Twenty days afterwards he was again promoted, becoming 7,000, 7,000 horse, received a valuable fringed litter (*pālkī*) and other gifts, with the office of *Nāẓir*, or governor of the imperial harem. On the 2nd Rajab (21st May, 1718) a gold bedstead, covered with gold plates and studded with jewels, which had belonged to the Emperor Jahāngīr, was given to the favourite. In fact, not a night passed without his receiving silver and gold coin, valuable jewels or rich clothes. The best *jāgīrs* in the Gujarāt, Dihli, and Āgrah provinces were also allotted to him. In the course of one year and some months he had become the owner of one hundred elephants, with

from Jan. 1718 at Sarāe Bādli, which was close to Āgharābād and the Shālibmā, garden.

<sup>1</sup> Siūli, just S. or E. of Pānīpat.

<sup>2</sup> In honour of the occasion he had the following motto (*shaja'*) cut on his seal;

*Murād yāft, zi Farrukhsīyar, khudeo-i-jahān,  
Ba husn-i-nīyat-i-khud i'tiqād-i khān-i-jahān.*

Murād (Desire) obtained from Farrukhsīyar, Ruler of the World,

“By virtue of good intent, the confidence (*i'tiqād*) of the Lord of the World.

<sup>3</sup> Yahyā Khān, fol. 124a.

everything else in proportion. He also realized much money by force, but most of it passed from him into the hands of young men of evil reputation in the city, who in a very short time had collected round him to the number of three or four thousand. As the saying is, "Soon got is soon spent."<sup>1</sup>

Farrukhsiyar's reckless mode of enriching Muḥammad Murād is shown by one anecdote. One day he spoke to the Emperor about a ring. Orders were at once given to bring a valuable ring from the imperial jewel-house; and ten or twelve trays, full of rings, were brought. Farrukhsiyar said to Muḥammad Murād: "Hold out your skirt." He did so. Then Farrukhsiyar several times took up double handfuls of rings, and emptied them into his skirt. Qūṭb-ul-mulk and others present remonstrated but without effect.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION 25.—SARBULAND KHĀN RECALLED TO COURT.

About this time (April 1718) the settlement with Curāman, Jāt, had been forced through by Qūṭb-ul-mulk, quite against the wishes of Farrukhsiyar himself. From this cause the smouldering quarrel again broke into activity. More especially was this noticeable after the arrival of Rājah Jai Singh, who asserted that in another month Curāman, who was very hard-pressed, would have been utterly defeated; that Qūṭb-ul-mulk had been so strenuous in pressing the Jāt's application, only owing to his desire to prevent the Rājah's success. As Farrukhsiyar fully believed that the two Sayyads were working for his destruction, this complaint added fuel to the flames. Contemporaries concur in asserting that, although Muḥammad Murād had liberality (*sakhāwat*) and kindness (*maravvat*), he had not the talent (*honṣlah*) required in a *wazīr*, or even in a great noble. Nor was he valorous. He was even less so than Mir Jumlah; though, all the while, Farrukhsiyar believed that in him he had won a splendid piece to play in his game against Qūṭb-ul-mulk.<sup>3</sup> But Muḥammad Murād himself felt that he was not the man to enter upon an open contest with the Sayyads. He therefore cast about for somebody more fitted to undertake the enterprize with some hope of success. His first selection was Sarbuland Khān, who had a reputation for wisdom and courage, and though just removed from the governorship of Bahār, was still at the head of a large army. On the favourite's advice, Sarbuland Khān was summoned to Court, where he

<sup>1</sup> *Dawlat-i-tez rā baqāe nīst*, literally, "Rapid fortune has no permanence." *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, fol. 126, Kāmwar Khān, 176, 177, 178, 179, Shiū Dās, 16b.

<sup>2</sup> Shiū Dās, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Yahyā Khān, 124b, *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 126b.

arrived on the 10th Sha'bān 1130 H. (8th July, 1718), Muḥammad Murād going out to meet him. His troops were paraded before the Emperor on the 21st of that month.<sup>1</sup>

Sarbuland Khān had come to Court with the anticipation that when the Sayyads had been successfully dealt with, he would receive as his reward the exalted office of *wazīr*. Full of zeal, he had started with seven to eight thousand well-armed horsemen and some artillery. As this force approached, it was the common belief that at last the Sayyads were to be effectually crushed, that at last the Emperor had come to a firm determination, having set up in Sarbuland Khān a sagacious and energetic rival fit to cope with them; that when Quṭb-ul-mulk had been got rid of at Court, to dispose of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān would be a comparatively easy matter. Sarbuland Khān was promoted to 7,000, 6,000 horse, with the titles of Mubārīz-ul-mulk, Sarbuland Khān, Nāmwar Jang,<sup>2</sup> and by promises of further reward he was induced to undertake the business.

Quṭb-ul-mulk had long been on his guard; he now redoubled his precautions. He never moved to *darbār* without being escorted by three or four thousand horsemen. It was not long before, by chance, it came to Sarbuland Khān's knowledge that, even if he carried the attempt to a successful issue, he might be rewarded liberally, but the office of *wazīr* was intended for another. He resolved to obtain confirmation of this from the Emperor's own lips, although to do so demanded great care in the way the question was put. Accordingly he framed it in the following way: "As Your Majesty has decided on the disgrace of these two brothers, you must have in your mind some one capable of bearing the burden of chief minister, an office of supreme importance." The simple-minded Emperor replied: "For this post I have I'tiqād Khān (*i.e.* Muḥammad Murād) in my mind; and to speak the truth, there is no one better than him for it." Sarbuland Khān, who in his hope of the *wazīr*ship had been hitherto hot as flame, now grew cold as ice. The position suggests to the author of the *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā* the verse, "I am in love, and the loved one desires another; Like the first of Shawwāl called the Feast of Ramazān."<sup>3</sup> Quṭb-ul-mulk had already warned

<sup>1</sup> For the secret letter sent to Sarbuland Khān by Amīn-ud-dīn Khān with a *shuqqah* from the Emperor, see *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 29. Mirzā Muḥammad, 379, copy of *Farmān* in Shiū Dās, 19a, Kāmwar Khān, 179-180.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* (1154 H.) has Dilāwar Jang ( دلاور ) instead of Nāmwar ( نامور ).

<sup>3</sup> *Man āshiq, o ma'shūq ba kām-i-digarān ast;*  
*Chūn ghurrah-i-Shawwāl, kih 'Īd-i-Ramazān ast.*



Sarbuland Khān that he and his brother meant the contest to be one for death or life, that they meant to stake their heads on the cast of the dice. From that day Sarbuland Khān drew back. Although in appearance he continued to act and talk as before, in his heart he resolved to do nothing further. Finally he was appointed to Āgrah on the 19th Shawwāl (14th September, 1718), but on the 1st Muḥarram 1131 H. (23rd November, 1718) he resigned office and returned from Farīdābād, having gone no further than that place on his way to his new government.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 26.—ATTEMPT TO SEIZE QUṬB-UL-MULK.

The next phase in the struggle was a project to seize Quṭb-ul-mulk in the 'Īdgāh on the day of the 'Īd (1st Shawwāl, 1130 H., 27th August, 1718). It was argued that the Emperor's party would be there in force, to the number of seventy or eighty thousand men, ready to sacrifice their lives, while Quṭb-ul-mulk would have round him none but a few relations and followers. They could fall upon him and cut off his head before he could cry out. But spies had warned Quṭb-ul-mulk of this plot, and he redoubled his precautions. The night before the 'Īd, while one watch of the night still remained, Sayyad Khān Jahān, the minister's maternal uncle, repaired with his sons and his soldiers to the 'Īdgāh, and occupied it. Before daybreak Quṭb-ul-mulk's men reached the spot, and they sufficed to fill the whole of the space. In the morning, when the Emperor's people arrived and saw what had been done, they drew in their claws and made no attempt at violence. Nawāb Quṭb-ul-mulk reached the 'Īdgāh before His Majesty and at the head of his followers came out to make his bow. Farrukhsīyar saw it was useless to attempt anything, and much dejected left directly the prayers were over.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION 27.—MAHĀRĀJAH AJĪT SINGH IS SENT FOR.

Sarbuland Khān's defection did not trouble Farrukhsīyar very much; his hopes now centred in his father-in-law, Mahārājah Ajit Singh, for whom he had sent through Nāhar Khān, the only person believed to have sufficient influence over the Rājah to secure his adhesion. Nāhar Khān is the man whose good offices the Rājah had employed to secure

<sup>1</sup> Shiū Dās, fol. 19a and b, Khāfi Khān, II, 792. Farīdābād, 16 miles S. of city, Indian Atlas, Sheet 49, S.E.

<sup>2</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 384, Khāfi Khān, II., 792. Mīrzā Muḥammad (385), who was there, says that even after the Emperor, with many nobles and a number of spectators had left, there were still so many of Quṭb-ul-mulk's men present, that you could not tell that anyone had gone away. As a consequence of this attempt, Quṭb-ul-mulk enlisted twenty thousand new men, and, contrary to his previous practice accepted the services of men who were not Bārḥah Sayyads.

terms from Sayyad Husain 'Alī Khān four years before. But Nāhar Khān was an intimate friend of the two Sayyads, and his first efforts were directed to bringing over Ajit Singh to their side, and detaching him from that of Farrukhsīyar. In this he was fully successful. The Rājah started from Jodhpur for Dihli, and the Emperor was overjoyed at the prospect of his arrival. These hopes were, however, doomed to disappointment, for Ajit Singh had not the least intention of taking that side; on the contrary, his mind was fully made up to espouse the cause of the Sayyads.<sup>1</sup>

On the 4th Shawwāl 1130 H. (30th August, 1718), when Rājah Ajit Singh's arrival near Bāgh Malhan Shāh was reported, I'tiqād Khān (Muhammad Murād) was sent with the present of a dagger, and Şamşām-ud-daulah was deputed as an escort. These men were commissioned to impress on the Rājah the high favour in which he stood with His Majesty, and by persuasive talk induce him to present himself in audience without the intervention of Quṭb-ul-mulk. I'tiqād Khān, after delivering the gifts with which he had been entrusted, told the Rājah that he was too great a man to need another person to introduce him, he should present himself in audience the next day, and he would be received. He could then lay his own representations before the throne. In reply the Rājah, after using many similar flattering professions, announced his intention of obtaining audience through Quṭb-ul-mulk. In vain I'tiqād Khān displayed all his eloquence, he could not turn the Rājah from his purpose. It is said that this was the result of Quṭb-ul-mulk's advice, conveyed through Nāhar Khān and others. They had frightened the Rājah into the belief that Farrukhsīyar's word could not be relied upon. By what vows and oaths, they said, had he not bound himself in the case of Asad Khān and his son, only to lure them into the net! The Sayyads, they added, are the only men who can stand up against such a sovereign, or whose support is of any value.<sup>2</sup>

When his emissaries returned and reported their ill-success, Farrukhsīyar flew into a passion. But unable to help himself, he sent a message to Quṭb-ul-mulk that the next day was appointed for the reception of Rājah Ajit Singh, and that he, too, should present himself at *darbār*. The Rājah had written that unless the minister attended he would not come.

The next day, the 5th Shawwāl (31st August, 1718), I'tiqād Khān and Şamşām-ud-daulah set out once more, and brought the Rājah to

<sup>1</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad, 383. Surman Diary, 3rd January 1717 O.S. [14th January 1718 N.S.—12th Şafar 1130]: "Naar Cawne [sent] to bring Raja Adjet San to Court."

<sup>2</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad, 386, Kāmwar Khān, 180.

the audience hall. Quṭb-ul-mulk was present. On reaching the outer gate, Rājah Ajīt Singh declined to advance further until he was certain of the presence of the *wazīr*. It was only after repeated assurances that he consented to enter the palace. When he reached the door of the *Dīwān-i-‘ām* he halted, and said that until Quṭb-ul-mulk came to him there, he would not advance another step. Ṣamsām-ud-daulah convinced him that Quṭb-ul-mulk would come, but the spot fixed for him to appear was further on. They moved on to the door of the *Dīwān-i-khās*. Again the Rājah halted. Here Quṭb-ul-mulk appeared and the two men greeted each other most effusively. The Nawāb then took the Rājah by the hand and conducted him to the presence. Farrukhsīyar, though far from pleased with his conduct, appeared hypocritically gracious and conferred the usual *khila't* and other presents.

For twenty days neither the *wazīr* nor the Rājah re-appeared at *darbār*. In this interval the Rājah visited Quṭb-ul-mulk only once or twice, and the Nawāb went once to him. But secret agents were constantly passing to and fro between them, and these men used every effort to strengthen the alliance. As the differences between the Emperor and his minister had now become public, Farrukhsīyar, instigated by I'tiqād Khān, took what measures he could to win the day. On his side, too, Quṭb-ul-mulk drew aside the veil, and refused to appear in audience. As soon as he found that the Nawāb and the Rājah were one, Farrukhsīyar returned to the idea of a reconciliation. For several days in succession I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād) visited them with proposals for peace and concord. It leaked out, however, that Quṭb-ul-mulk placed no reliance on I'tiqād Khān's word, holding him to be a stirrer-up of strife. The negotiations were therefore transferred to Afzal Khān, the Ṣadr-uṣ-ṣadūr, but with equal want of good result. Sarbuland Khān and Ṣamsām-ud-daulah's services were next enlisted (22nd Shawwāl, 17th September 1718), although they were suspected of infidelity to the Emperor. But the final destruction of Quṭb-ul-mulk was as firmly resolved on as ever. The command of the artillery, of which the assistance would be absolutely necessary, was in the hands of Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān, a man well affected to Ṣamsām-ud-daulah, whose loyalty was now doubted. This command was taken away, and given on the 22nd Shawwāl (17th September, 1718) to Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān, Ghālib Jang, who could be relied on as having no sort of connection with the Sayyads or Ṣamsām-ud-daulah; nay, he might be accounted their enemy, for owing to the scanty favour that they had shown him, he was living in poverty, in spite of his *manṣab* of 7,000 *zāt*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 390, Kāmwar Khān, 181.

After Sarbuland Khān and Ṣamsām-ul-daulah had been entrusted with the task of assuaging the anger of Quṭb-ul-mulk, they succeeded by smooth speeches and plausible arguments in bringing him, to some extent, into a more reasonable frame of mind. He agreed to appear once more in *darbār*. It was faithfully promised that there should never again be anything to disturb his mind, or arouse differences of opinion. Rājah Ajīt Singh having also absented himself, the *wazīr* advised that he also should be conciliated, and that they should be brought to *darbār* together. This was accordingly done and the Rājah propitiated. On the 26th Shawwāl, 1130 H. (21st September, 1718), Rājah Ajīt Singh repaired to the *wazīr's* house. Sarbuland Khān and Ṣamsām-ud-daulah came on behalf of His Majesty, and requested that the two nobles might mount and set out. The two envoys, mounted on one elephant, preceded them to the palace. Quṭb-ul-mulk and Rājah Ajīt Singh followed, riding upon one elephant. Speeches full of apparent peace and goodwill were interchanged, outwardly all cause of quarrel between the parties had been removed, and at the *wazīr's* request the country of Bikāner was conferred upon the Rājah. But acute observers likened the situation to the well-known description of an hour-glass:

“They are joined together like an hour-glass,  
Hearts full of dust and faces all clear.”<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 28.—NIZĀM-UL-MULK IS SUMMONED.

Ṣamsām-ud-daulah was suspected of treachery, I'tiqād Khān's talk came to nothing, Sarbuland Khān had become lukewarm, Ajīt Singh, false to his salt, had gone over to Quṭb-ul-mulk! Who was there left? Farrukhsīyar thought now of Nizām-ul-mulk, then *faujdār* of Murādābād,<sup>2</sup> and sent a *farmān* recalling him to Court, in the hope that from him deliverance might come. Nizām-ul-mulk crossed the Jamnah towards the end of Shawwāl and camped near Khizrābād.<sup>3</sup> Nawāb Sādāt Khān, father-in-law of the Emperor, went out to meet him (29th Shawwāl 1130 H., 24th September, 1728) and escorted him to the presence Farrukhsīyar now made overtures to Nizām-ul-mulk. But at the same

<sup>1</sup> Shiū Dās, 19a.

*Cūn shīshah-i-sā'at and, paiwastah ba-ham,  
Dilhā hamah pur-i-ghabār, wa rūhā hamah ṣāf.*

Ghabār, literally, “dust,” metaphorically, “ill-will, vexation.” Mīrzā Muḥammad, 392, Kāmwar Khān, 181-2.

<sup>2</sup> For his appointment to Murādābād see back, Section 21.

<sup>3</sup> Kāmwar Khān says the camp was near the 'Idgāh. The two places are not very far apart.

time, as he was greatly afraid of the Sayyads, he bound the Nawāb to disclose nothing, until one of the men devoted to his cause had removed Quṭb-ul-mulk out of their way. Nizām-ul-mulk saw plainly enough that on these conditions the enterprize was hopeless, and therefore amused the Emperor with procrastinating words, without committing himself. Day after day passed until Farrukhsīyar despaired of assistance in this direction. A few months afterwards (16th Şəfār 1131 H., 7th January, 1719), Farrukhsīyar, in his heedless, short-sighted way, finally alienated Nizām-ul-mulk by removing him from his appointment in Chaklah Murādābād, which was then erected into a *Şūbah* and conferred on the favourite I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād).<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 29.—MIR JUMLAH'S SECOND RETURN TO DIHLI.

We have already told<sup>2</sup> how in 1128 H. (March, 1716) Mir Jumlah was exiled first to Sahrind and then to Lāhor. He had never abandoned hope of a return to Court, but Farrukhsīyar was too frightened of the Sayyads to accord his consent. At length, the Emperor, having screwed up his courage to the sticking place, recalled Mir Jumlah. As soon as Quṭb-ul-mulk learnt this, he sent to ask Farrukhsīyar why, if there was no quarrel left between them, he should have sent for Mir Jumlah. Frightened at this remonstrance, Farrukhsīyar cancelled his first order. But Mir Jumlah, directly he had received the *farmān*, had started on his return, and paying no attention whatever to the second order, hurried on by forced marches. Knowing what anger would be aroused in Quṭb-ul-mulk's breast by Mir Jumlah's arrival, Farrukhsīyar despatched Shāhbāz Khān, *Qūl*,<sup>3</sup> to turn him back wherever he might be found. Even this measure was powerless to arrest his course. However, as Mir Jumlah perceived that, out of fear of the Wazir, Farrukhsīyar would decline to see him, he decided to give himself out as an adherent of the Sayyads. Accordingly he went straight to Quṭb-ul-mulk's house, 5th Zū, 1 Qā'dah (29th September, 1718). Farrukhsīyar, overpowered by anger, took away Mir Jumlah's rank and gave orders to resume the mansion, known as Asad Khān's, which had been granted him, and conferred it upon Şamsām-ud-daulah. Energetic men were sent with orders to remove him from the house of Quṭb-ul-mulk to that of the late Fidāe Khān. Quṭb-ul-mulk was much enraged at this action, and the ill-will which had been hidden under a pretended reconciliation, was now again shown openly. The Wazir wrote (5th Zū, 1 Qā'dah, 29th

<sup>1</sup> Shiū Dās 18b, (copy of *Farmān*), Mīrzā Muḥammad, 401.

<sup>2</sup> Section 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Qūl*, Turkish for slave.

September, 1718) to his brother, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, requesting him to leave the Dakhin at once and return to Dihli. In his letter, after referring to the enemies who had obtained the ear of His Majesty, he recounts the story of Jai Singh, Sawāe's, campaign against Curā, Jāṭ, and the quarrel arising from its termination, his fear of assassination, and his measures to collect additional troops. There is no doubt that Quṭb-ul-mulk's fears for his personal safety were not unfounded. For instance, on the 29th Shawāl (24th September, 1718), when he was seated in the office of the *Dīwān* engaged in signing documents, spies brought him word that an outbreak was planned, whereupon he called hurriedly for a *pālki*, and was carried home.<sup>1</sup>

One of the strange occurrences of this time, one remaining quite unexplained, was the sudden appearance in the imperial audience hall, on the 11th Shawwāl (6th September, 1718), of a man who took his seat on the marble platform, the place where the *khawāṣ* or pages stand, and made three *salāms* or reverences, with his sword. When told by the carpet-spreaders and guards to desist, he drew his sword and attacked them, whereupon one of the guards dispatched him with his dagger. No one knew who he was or what his object had been. His body was made over to the *Kotwāl*.<sup>2</sup>

When Farrukhsīyar heard that Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had been written to, he sent off Ṣamsām-ud-daulah to allay the Wazir's apprehensions. On the 6th Z,ul Qa'dah (30th September, 1718) he went out hunting, and on his way home sent a message that he was about to honour Quṭb-ul-mulk with a visit. It so happened that Rajah Ajīt Singh had been told of a plot made by Farrukhsīyar to seize him, when he, as in duty bound, should come out to the door of his house, to make obeisance at the time of the Emperor's passing by. This may have had no other foundation than in the Rājah's evil conscience, for, as Khāfi Khān says, it is a proverb that: "The faithless are full of fear."<sup>3</sup> In any case the fact remains that Ajīt Singh sought that day a refuge with Quṭb-ul-mulk. As soon as the Emperor heard of the Rājah's presence, he countermanded his orders, and sent Sayyad Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān to say, that if that base-born pig had not been at the Wazir's house, he would have paid him a visit. On the arrival of the boat (*nawārah*)<sup>4</sup> opposite the

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 182; Mīrzā Muḥammad, 404, is a little different. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 385, Shiū Dās, 17b (copy of letter to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān.)

<sup>2</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 181.

<sup>3</sup> Al-*khā*, in *khā'if*.

<sup>4</sup> *Nawārah*, these boats were fashioned into fanciful shapes such as wild animals, etc. They were roofed in at one end, which was covered with broad cloth; they were better finished and lighter than a common boat (*kishtī*). The boatmen

Wazir's house, the Emperor directed the boatmen to increase their speed, in spite of the fact that the imperial equipage was drawn up, and the wazir waiting on the river bank to receive him. Thus this occasion for untying the knot was lost, and the Emperor turned again to Şamşām-ud-daulah for advice. That noble repaired to Quṭb-ul-mulk's on the 9th Zū, 1 Qa'dah (3rd October, 1718) and conferred with him. At this time, by reason of the rise of I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād), Şamşām-ud-daulah had fallen out of favour with Farrukh-siyar, and was even suspected by him of treachery. Being aware of this change of feeling, he was now far from well-affected to the Emperor, had improved his relations with Quṭb-ul-mulk, and had inspired that noble with full confidence in his friendship. Listening to his advice, Quṭb-ul-mulk presented himself in *darbār*, made his obeisance, and, to all appearance, the quarrel was again made up, after the usual false speeches had been exchanged.<sup>1</sup>

The story goes that Şamşām-ud-daulah had planned with Farrukh-siyar the arrest of Quṭb-ul-mulk. The Emperor was to take his seat in the *Tasbīḥ Khānah*, or chapel, round which the armed attendants were to be secretly collected. When the moment came, the signal was to be given by the cry of "Qūl!" and, rushing in, the slaves were to seize the wazir and hurry him off to prison. Quṭb-ul-mulk having entered with a small following, Farrukhsiyar, when the time came, called out as agreed on, "Qūl!" From some motive, either of prudence or friendship, Şamşām-ud-daulah, instead of repeating the signal, changed the word, and shouted "Qūl!" (armed retinue), the word used to signify that all those waiting for audience should be admitted. This slight change of one letter disarranged the whole plan. The slaves never stirred. But a large number of Quṭb-ul-mulk's armed retinue at once appeared in the audience-chamber, and Farrukhsiyar was much disturbed at seeing this crowd. As soon as the minister had left, he vented his rage on Şamşām-ud-daulah. In his access of passion he threw at his favourite the seal, the box for holding the ink used with it, and, as some add, a metal spittoon. After this catastrophe Şamşām-ud-daulah absented himself for several days, nor did he return until Farrukhsiyar had written him a friendly note in his own hand, asking him to attend court as usual.<sup>2</sup>

were mostly from Kashmīr and used Kashmīrī calls to each other when working. Anand Rām, (Mukhlis) *Mirāt-ul-Istīlāḥ*, fol. 166b, B. M. Oriental, No. 1813 (Elliot MSS.). Anand Rām quotes Bábar as to the convenience of boat travelling.

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II., 803, 804, Kāmwar Khān, 182, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 405.

<sup>2</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 405, Khushḥāl Cand, 411a, Shiū Dās 17a, Yaḥyā Khān 123b, Kām Rāj, *Ibratnāmah*, 56a, Kāmwar Khān, 183.

After a few days the Emperor went out again on a hunting expedition, accompanied by many officers and state officials: and, as usual, the rumour spread that on this occasion, when Quṭb-ul-mulk appeared to make his obeisance, hands would be laid upon him. Quṭb-ul-mulk, receiving a hint from Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, came surrounded by men; when he dismounted at the entrance, five hundred fully-armed soldiers dismounted with him. In spite of all that the chamberlain (*Mīr Tozak*) and attendants (*yasāwal*) could say, the whole of these men followed into the audience tent. Farrukhsīyar was greatly perturbed at the sight, and it was with much constraint that he was able to utter a few words of compliment before he dismissed the visitor. Further attempts to heal the breach were made. On the 20th Zū,1 Qa'dah (14th October, 1718) Zafar Khān, the fourth Bakhshī, took I'tiqād Khān to Quṭb-ul-mulk's house, when the favourite and the wazir interchanged presents, and three days afterwards, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah visited I'tiqād Khān. About this time Farrukhsīyar, always of a suspicious nature, came to the conclusion that his foster-mother, who held an honoured position in the harem, and I'timād Khān, a eunuch, had betrayed his secret projects to the Sayyads.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 30.—MIR JUMLAH PARDONED.

After waiting for more than a month, Mir Jumlah was at last admitted to audience on the 7th Zū,1 Hijjah (31st October, 1718) under the auspices of Nizām-ul-mulk. He received the addition of "*Tarkhān*" to his former titles.<sup>2</sup> Three days afterwards, it being the day of the 'Īd, the Emperor proceeded to the 'Īdgāh for the usual observances, but by his express order Quṭb-ul-mulk did not attend. The reason for this prohibition was that Farrukhsīyar recollected and resented the failure of his plans on the day of the former 'Īd at the end of Ramazān. On the 12th (5th November, 1718) I'tiqād Khān paid Mir Jumlah a visit at his house, and the next day, by the Emperor's order, he invited Mir Jumlah to a banquet in return. All this intercourse was encouraged by Farrukhsīyar in the hope that the chief nobles would join with him heart and soul in the destruction of Quṭb-ul-mulk. But all was without avail. The bringing forward of I'tiqād Khān had

<sup>1</sup> This gives Kāmwar Khān, 183, an opening for quoting the saying, "one spot (or dot) turns "*maḥram*," مَجْرَم (a confidant) into "*mujrim*," مَجْرَم (a criminal)":

*Maḥram ba yak nuktaḥ mujrim shavvad.*

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning and attributes of this distinction, see Blochmann, *Āin*, I., 364, and *Tārīkh-i-yaashīdī*, Ross and Elias, p. 55, note.



estranged many who were otherwise well affected to the Emperor's person, and had caused them to enter into terms with Quṭb-ul-mulk. By expatiating on the wazīr's Sayyad lineage, on his claims for service done, and on his bravery in the field, they found reasons for holding that right was on his side. I'tiqād Khān's sudden rise, which was without apparent justification, rankled like a thorn in their hearts. Farrukhsīyar paid no heed to this discontent, but continued to support I'tiqād Khān, whose counsels he received as equivalent to a revelation from on high, nor could he bear the man to be away from him for a moment. At the annual rejoicing for the defeat of Jahāndār Shāh, 15th Zūl Hijjah 1130 H. (8th November, 1718), Quṭb-ul-mulk did not attend.<sup>1</sup>

### SECTION 31.—HUSAIN 'ALI KHĀN'S START FROM THE DAKHIN.

On the 1st Muḥarram 1131 H. (23rd November, 1718) an official report reached the Court that in the previous month Ḥusain 'Ali Khān had started from Aurangābād. On the 22nd Muḥarram (14th December, 1718) he left Burhānpur, and Ujjain on the 4th Ṣafar (26th December, 1718), continuing his route *viā* Mandeshwar.<sup>2</sup> Before this time he had put forward a pretext that the Dakhin climate did not agree with him, and had asked to be recalled. Farrukhsīyar said he might try a change to Aḥmadābād, and if he did not recover, he might then return to Hindūstān. About this time Ḥusain 'Ali Khān also reported that Mu'in-ud-dīn,<sup>3</sup> a reputed son of Prince Akbar, the rebel son of 'Ālamgīr, had been captured by Rājah Sāhū, the Mahrattah, and made over to him, on the condition that he obtained the release of the Rājah's mother and brother, who had been prisoners since the year 1101 H. (15th Muḥarram 1101 H., 28th October, 1689) and were still at Dihli. Farrukhsīyar ordered the Bakhshī to send the pretended prince to Dihli.<sup>4</sup>

Compliance with this order did not fall in with Ḥusain Ali Khān's plans; for his brother's, Quṭb-ul-mulk's, letter had already warned him that his presence was necessary at Court. He had already made up his mind to return to Hindūstān, and the fiction of having found a son of Prince Akbar was only part of this design, and in fact a mere excuse.

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 183, 184, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 410.

<sup>2</sup> Mandeshwar, Thornton, 645, now in Sindiah's dominions, Lat. 24° 1', Long. 75° 9'.

<sup>3</sup> 'Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn, *Ib.* 127a, refers to the pretended prince as Jawān Bakht, who had come to the Karnātak from Irān when Prince Akbar died. Yahyā Khān, 124a, says he was called a son of Kām Bakhsh.

<sup>4</sup> Kāmwar Khān, Shiū Dās, 20a, Khāfī Khān, II., 793, 795.

He had given out in open *darbār* that he expected the arrival from Satārah of a prince, Mu‘in-ud-dīn Ḥusain, son of Prince Akbar. When Prince Akbar, after rebelling against the Emperor ‘Ālamgīr, left India for Iṣfahān, this son had been, it was said, left behind. Equipage suitable for a prince of the Gurgānī family was prepared; scarlet tents, a throne, and a crown were made ready. The Mir Bakhshī at the same time announced that he was about to pay a visit to Hindūstān. The youth selected for the rôle of royal pretender was the son of a Qāzi in one of the Dakhin towns, good looking, talented, and with some external resemblance to the princes of the royal house. Mu‘azzam Khān, a *jama‘dār*, was deputed to bring to camp the so-called prince. The news writers and intelligencers asked for instructions as to what entry they should make. The Nawāb replied that he would in a short time make a report, and himself write detailed letters to Court. Next day the tents were pitched outside the city; more soldiers were enlisted and a month’s pay given to them in advance. Terms were come to with Rājah Sāhū, and payment to him of the *Chauth*, or one-fourth of the revenues of the Dakhin, was agreed to. Husain ‘Alī Khān also obtained the services of Mahrattas at the daily rate of one rupee for each man, to be paid from the time of crossing the Narbadā until their return home.<sup>1</sup> After three or four days, Mu‘in-ud-dīn Ḥusain was placed on an elephant in a high-sided canopy, with a white cloth over it to keep out the dust. Red and white tents were erected, a deep ditch was dug all round his camp, sentinels were set, and all the externals of royalty were assigned to him. To keep up appearances, Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān went daily to have a *mujrā* or ceremonious interview with his prisoner, such as would be necessary in the case of a real prince.<sup>2</sup>

Finally on the 15th Shawwāl (10th September, 1718) Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān appointed his brother, Saif-ud-dīn ‘Alī Khān, to the command of a vanguard of 4,000 to 5,000 men, and sent him towards Burhānpur to collect artillery and other stores. ‘Ālim ‘Alī Khān,<sup>3</sup> his nephew and adopted son, was named as his representative during his absence. Saif-ud-dīn ‘Alī Khān temporarily replaced Jān Niṣār Khān as gover-

<sup>1</sup> G. Duff, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Kām Rāj, *Ibratnāmāh*, 64b.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Ālim ‘Alī Khān had been adopted when an infant, (Kām Rāj, *Ibratnāmāh*, 64b.) The *farmān* of appointment can be seen in *Majma‘-ul-inshā* (litho.) p. 84. It includes the 6 *ṣūbahs* of the Dakhin with the *faujdār*-ship of the Karnātak and of Bijāpur, and the collectorship (*taḥṣīldārī*) of the tribute (*peṣhkash*) due from the zamīndārs of Sondhā and Bidnūr. Mubārīz Khān, Daler Khan, and the other governors were placed under him, and letters notifying this fact were transmitted to them through him.

nor of Khāndesh, and Sādāt Khān, an old officer now blind of his eyes, was sent as commandant of the fort at Ahmadnagar.<sup>1</sup> 'Alim 'Alī Khān was put under the tutelage of Shankarā Mulhār, a trusted agent of Rājah Sahū.<sup>2</sup> About November, 1718, Husāin 'Alī Khān started himself,<sup>3</sup> accompanied by Sayyad Asadullah (Nawāb Auliyā), the sons of Jān Niṣār Khān, 'Iwaz Khān, deputy governor of Barār, Asad 'Alī Khān, the one-handed, the 'Alī Murād Khān, Dil Daler Khān (brother of Luṭfullah Khān, Ṣādiq), Ikhtisāṣ Khān (grandson of Khān Zamān), Hājī Saifullah Khān, Ziā-ud-dīn Khān, *diwān* of the Dakhin, Firūz 'Alī Khān, Bārhaḥ, the *Amir-ul-umarā's* Bakhshī, Diyānat Khān (grandson of Amānat Khān, 'Khāfi), Rājah Jai Singh, Bundelah, Rājah Muḥkam Singh, one of the chief employés, and Khizr Khān, Pannī (sister's son of Dāūd Khān, Pannī).<sup>4</sup> In all there were twenty-two imperial commanders, many of whom followed unwillingly. There were 8,000 or 9,000 of his own troops and 11,000 or 12,000 Mahrattas, besides Bhils and Talingās. He carried with him nearly all the civil establishments of the Dakhin, and anyone who made excuses and turned back was punished by the loss of his *jāgīr*.<sup>5</sup> The total force was 25,000 horsemen, besides the artillery, and 10,000 to 11,000 infantry armed with matchlocks. At the head of the Mahrattas were Bālā Jī Wiswanāth, the Peshwā, Khandū Rāo Dhabāriyah, Santā,<sup>6</sup> and some others. These leaders received horses and elephants, robes of honour,

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II., 797.

<sup>2</sup> For Shankarā, see Grant Duff, 197, Khāfi Khān, II., 796.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, the historian, was himself present in Husain 'Alī Khān's army, see II., 798. He had just been removed from the *faujdārī* of Muṣṭafābād.

<sup>4</sup> Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 225. Ikhtisāṣ Khān, eldest son of Manavvar Khān, Quṭbī, son of Manavvar Khān, son of Khān Zamān, *Ma, āṣir-ul-umarā*, III., 655, Ziā-ud-dīn Khān, *diwān* of the Dakhin, see *Ma, āṣir-ul-umarā*, III., 36, and Khāfi Khān, II., 790, Diyānat Khān, grandson of Amānat Khān, *Ma, āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 258. Diyānat Khān, No. 2, id. II., 62, Rājah Muḥkam Singh (Khatri), *Ma, āṣir-ul-umarā*, II., 330, died Jamādī II, 1137 H., *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*. For the Pannīs, see *Ma, āṣir-ul-umarā*, II., 63. Instead of "Jai Singh" the *Siyar-ul-muta, akharīn* has "Partit Singh."

<sup>5</sup> Khāfi Khān, II., 803.

<sup>6</sup> Or Khandī. This man was Rājah Sahū's so-called Ṣūbahdār in Khāndesh, (Khāfi Khān, II., 798). An abstract of his career runs thus (Grant Duff, 162, 163, 196, 209): he was present at the council held after the death of Sambhā Jī (1689); and took a part in the flight of Rājā Rām. In 1716, after a long absence, he reappeared at the court of Satāra and was made *Senāpatī* (commander-in-chief). He died in 1721, shortly after the defeat of 'Alim Alī Khān. Santā Jī was said to be the natural son of Parsū Jī, Bhonslah (G. Duff, 199, note). Briggs in a note (p. 178) calls him Santā Jī, Kadam.

and money for expenses, with many promises of future reward in addition to the release of Rājah Sambhā's wife and son. These promises included ratification of the treaty for a grant of the *Chauth*, or one-fourth share in the revenues of the Dakhin, a grant of the *Sardesmukhī* or ten per cent. on the collections, and a confirmation of the hereditary Mahrattah territory, or *Swa-rāj*. Each Mahrattah trooper was to receive from the Viceroy's treasure-chest half a rupee, or, as some say, a rupee a day. A number of zamīndārs and their levies also joined. The most disturbing rumours as to the fate of Quṭb-ul-mulk, passed from mouth to mouth throughout Aurangābād.<sup>1</sup>

Consternation was produced in Farrukhsīyar's mind by the news of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's approach. Ikhlaṣ Khān, who was supposed to have great influence with the Sayyad, was sent off at once to intercept him and persuade him to return.<sup>2</sup> Early in Ṣafar 1131 H. (end of December, 1718) this envoy came up with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in the neighbourhood of Māndū in *Ṣūbah* Mālwah. Instead of loyally executing his trust, Ikhlaṣ Khān employed his secret interviews with the *Mīr Bakshī* in filling his mind with stories of the peril of his brother's position, of the threatening assemblage of great nobles at Dihlī, and of the overpowering influence acquired by I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād). Instead of being appeased, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was made only more eager than before to reach Dihlī. At first, some danger was apprehended from the attitude assumed by Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cīn, governor of Mālwah, then encamped near Ujjain. Naṣīr-ud-dīn Khān, Irānī, superintendent of the viceroy's stables, had been sent off to interview Muḥammad Amīn Khān and discover his intentions, when suddenly news was received that he had marched for Dihlī without orders.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. Duff, 198, *Khāfī Khān*, II., 794.

<sup>2</sup> *Khāfī Khān*, II., 799, says Ikhlaṣ Khān started at the end of *Shawwāl* 1130 H. (24th September, 1718). This is too early to fit in with the other authorities. Kām Rāj, *Ibratnāmāh*, 65a, says Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was at Sarāe Muḥammad A'zam Shāh north of the Narbadā river, when Ikhlaṣ Khān joined him. He calls Ikhlaṣ Khān the *Mīr Munshī*.

<sup>3</sup> From Amīn-ud-dīn's letter to Ikhlaṣ Khān, it would seem that on starting for Mālwah, Muḥammad Amīn Khān had bragged much of the aid he would obtain from the Afghān chief, Dost Muḥammad Khān (afterwards of Bhopāl). Nothing came of these boasts. But he wrote to Dihlī demanding impossible reinforcements in men and artillery and extravagant advances of money. His applications were rejected, and it was assumed at Dihlī, as it turned out quite rightly, that he meant to beat a retreat. Probably he also received a summons from Farrukhsīyar to return to Court (See later on Section 33). *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 53, *Khāfī Khān*, II., 794-799, 800.

The *farmān* carried by Ikh̄lās Kh̄ān, after acknowledging the receipt of Husain 'Alī Kh̄ān's report of his coming to Court with the son of Prince Akbar and reciting his promise to Rajah Sāhū, the Mahrattah ruler, (first) that the youth should not be killed, (secondly) that the Rajah's mother and brother should be released, goes on to state that the conditions asked for were accepted. For such an important business it was right for him to come, and His Majesty yearned to see him. At the same time, public affairs in the Dakhin were not in a position to admit of his absence, and the Mahrattas would seize the opportunity to give trouble. He ought, therefore, to return to his own government. All necessary instructions had been given to Ikh̄lās Kh̄ān who would impart them orally; and the prisoner should be made over to him on a signed and valid receipt. As for Rājah Sāhū's requests, they would be granted in whatever way Husain 'Alī Kh̄ān chose to lay them before the throne.

In his reply, Husain 'Alī Kh̄ān admitted that to come to Court without orders was opposed to rule, but he required to represent in person certain matters pertaining to the Dakhin, and there was also the prisoner, with whose custody therē was no one he could trust. He alleged that he had left a trustworthy deputy in the Dakhin. When, on reaching Mālwah, Ikh̄lās Kh̄ān had delivered to him the *farmān*, he had at once made ready to return. But the officers of the Mahrattah rājah, who were in his company at the head of a large force, swore that unless he remained, they could never secure the release of the Rājah's mother and brother. Now, if they were to suspect him of treachery, the consequences might be dreadful. Moreover, he was overcome by his longing to see His Majesty once more, he had come a long way, the remaining distance was short; he had therefore decided to push on, make over the prisoner, discuss certain matters of the Dakhin, and then return at once to his own government. On these pretexts he disregarded the order to retrace his steps.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 32.—PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT DIHLĪ.

By the middle of Muḥarram 1131 H. (7th December, 1718) Quṭb-ul-mulk had been absent from Court for two or three months. In that month the Emperor passed several times close to his house on the way to and from Fīrūz Shāh's *Lāth*,<sup>2</sup> towards which he had gone to hunt, but on no occasion had Quṭb-ul-mulk come out to the door to make his

<sup>1</sup> *Shiū Dās*, 20, 21b.

<sup>2</sup> There were two pillars at Dihlī known as *Lāth-i-Fīrūz Shāh*. The first was brought by river from a place 90 *kos* to the north, and put up in Koṭilah Fīrūz Shāh

obeisance, as required by etiquette, Farrukhsīyar was now in a state of terror at the approach of Husain 'Alī Khān, whose well-known violence of temper and vigour of purpose he much dreaded. He and his advisers thought it prudent therefore to win over Quṭb-ul-mulk, so that he might act as a peace-maker and not as an increaser of strife. Since, by this time Farrukhsīyar had abandoned all hope of destroying the Sayyads, success in this new project was looked on as far from impossible. But, as Yaḥyā Khān says, he did not recollect the saying, "After you have lost your sight what is the use of treatment?"<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly, on the 26th Muḥarram (18th December, 1718) Farrukhsīyar embarked in his boat on the Jamnah and was taken to the *wazīr's* door. Quṭb-ul-mulk came out to meet him and bowed his head so as to touch the Emperor's feet. Rich offerings were brought and presented. In return Farrukhsīyar took off the turban he was wearing and placed it on the minister's head along with the costly jewels attached to it, adding a suit of clothes which he had himself worn.<sup>2</sup> Breakfast was eaten and a siesta taken in the house before his return to the palace. On his departure, after the exchange of many vows and promises, Ratn Cand and some others received robes of honour. Kāmwar Khān here justly quotes a line to the effect that such promises were as much to be relied on as the winds of heaven.<sup>3</sup>

The next day, the 27th, about midday, Quṭb-ul-mulk appeared at the Audience, made the usual offerings, and was dismissed. That afternoon there was an outbreak among the troops, and it very nearly ended in an attack on Quṭb-ul-mulk's mansion. On one side were the artillery headed by Bikā, Hazārī;<sup>4</sup> on the other, the men of Rājah Ajit Singh and of Curā, Jāt. The fight lasted over three hours, many

near the Masjid at Fīrūzābād, *Aṣṣār-us-ṣanādīd*, Chapter III., p., 47. It stands a few hundred paces to the south of the present city, (Thornton, 26).

The second pillar is shown in the map of Dihlī and its environs, made in 1808 and prefixed to E. Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings" (8vo, 1871). It is there named "Shah Fakir's lath." It stood on the old bank of the Jamnah, north of the new city, half-way between it and Wazīrābād. This is, I presume, the same as the "lath" of the *Kūshak-i-shikār* in the *Aṣṣār*, p. 8, chapter 3, and Carr Stephens, 140. The second of these pillars is, in all probability, the one referred to in the text. As to the removal of these pillars to, and their re-erection at Dihlī, see Shams-i-Siraj, 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Elliot, III., 350, 351.

<sup>1</sup> *Ba'd az khirābī-i-baṣārat fikre sūd na dārad*. Yaḥyā Khān, fol. 124a, Kāmwar Khān, 185, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 417.

<sup>2</sup> A mark of high favour, according to the Mughal ceremonial.

<sup>3</sup> *Takiyah bar 'ahd-i-tū o bād-i-ṣabā na awān kard*.

<sup>4</sup> Or Tīkā. A Hazārī is equivalent to a captain of artillery.

on both sides were killed, and only the coming-on of night separated the combatants. Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān, Ghālib Jang, the commander of the artillery, Sa'id Qulī Khān, Qūl, and Sayyad Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān intervened, and the quarrel was made up. Zafar Khān was sent by the Emperor to make excuses and apologise to Rājah Ajīt Singh.<sup>1</sup>

At his own interview Quṭb-ul-mulk had told the Emperor of Rājah Ajīt Singh's discontent, which ought in his opinion to be removed. Acting on this opinion, Farrukhsīyar on the 1st Ṣafar (23rd December, 1718) went with Quṭb-ul-mulk to Rājah Ajīt Singh's quarters, and presents were interchanged. He remained over an hour and then went on his way. On the following day the *wazīr* and Rājah Ajīt Singh proceeded together to the Emperor's audience. To all appearance the breach was closed once more. The next man requiring to be conciliated was Sarbuland Khān, Mubāriz-ul-mulk, Dilāwar Jang. He had been appointed, as we have already said, to Āgrah, and after enlisting a large force marched as far as Farīdābād. His expenses were heavy, and he was at all times a bad financier. Farrukhsīyar neither recalled him in order to strike a decisive blow, nor sent him any remittance from the treasury. Sarbuland Khān parted with everything he had, even down to his dwelling-house, and then came back from Farīdābād without orders, and sought refuge in Old Dihli. His *manṣab* had been taken from him in consequence. On the 6th Ṣafar (28th December, 1718) Quṭb-ul-Mulk went to him and brought him to audience.<sup>2</sup>

By this time Farrukhsīyar began to see that Quṭb-ul-mulk and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had obtained the upper hand of him. All his efforts were now directed to propitiating his enemies. Quṭb-ul-mulk was raised on the 6th Ṣafar (28th December) from 7,000, 7,000 horse to 8,000, 8,000 horse, of which 5,000 were *dūaspah* (two horses each), and he received a gift of 5 *krors* and 80 *lakhs* of *dām*.<sup>3</sup> I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād) and Zafar Khān, Turrah-i-bāz, having acted as negotiators between the Emperor and Quṭb-ul-mulk, the supposed happy results were attributed to their exertions. The former was now styled Rukn-ud-daulah, I'tiqād Khān, Bahādur, Farrukhshāhī, with the rank of 7,000, 7,000 horse, of which 4,000 were *dūaspah*. To Zafar Khān's titles were added the words Rustam Jang; he was given the insignia of the fish dignity, and he was promoted to 6,000. On the following day, 7th Ṣafar (29th December), Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was promoted to 8,000, 8,000 horse

<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 417, 418; Kāmwar Khān, 185, 186, Khāfī Khān, II, 800.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 186; Mīrzā Muḥammad, 427; Khāfī Khān, II., 801.

<sup>3</sup> Forty to the rupee, about £96, 666 at present values.

of which 5,000 were *dūaspah*, and 4 *krors* and 80 *lakhs* of *dām* were granted to him.<sup>1</sup>

Several appointments were made under the renewed influence of Quṭb-ul-mulk. On the 16th Ṣafar 1131 H. (7th January, 1719) Sarbuland Khān was appointed to Kābul, the former governor, Nāṣir Khān, having recently died at Peshāwar.<sup>2</sup> Mahārājah Ajit Singh, on the same day, was gratified with the epithet of Rājeshar, added to his other titles, and the government of Ahmadabad-Gujarāt was given to him, on the removal of Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah (Khān Daurān). At the same time the Emperor's own favourites were not forgotten. On the 16th Ṣafar 1131 H. (7th January, 1719) the *chaklah* of Murādābād (part of the *ṣūbah* of Dihli) was taken from Niẓām-ul-mulk and erected into a *ṣūbah* with the name of Ruknābād, and conferred on I'tiqād Khān,<sup>3</sup> his deputy being Fakhrullah Khān, his brother-in-law. Niẓām-ul-mulk was thus entirely ousted from office, but Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah was consoled the next day for the loss of Ahmadābād by appointment to Āgrah, including the *faujdar*-ship of Mathurā.<sup>4</sup>

Farrukhsiyar's thoughts next turned to a reconciliation between Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, and Quṭb-ul-mulk. Jai Singh was displeased at the part which Quṭb-ul-mulk had played in the matter of Curāman, Jāt. As the Rājah had taken Farrukhsiyar's side throughout, the latter was very anxious to favour him, but Quṭb-ul-mulk's position having proved so strong, he was afraid to do anything without a reconciliation. Therefore, on the 18th Ṣafar (9th January, 1719), he sent Zafar Khān to the Rājah's house, and at this messenger's suggestion the Rājah accompanied him on a visit to Quṭb-ul-mulk. The Nawāb received him most affably, and gave him a dagger and other things by way of present. A return visit was paid on the 24th, followed on the 25th (15th and 16th January, 1719) by a visit to the Rājah from Farrukhsiyar himself, to whom valuable offerings were made both in cash and other things. The Rājah had also filled a reservoir (*ḥauz*) with rose-water and saffron, had adorned the trees with imported fruit, and in all ways strove to do honour to the occasion. His titles were increased to Rāj-indar, Rājdhirāj.<sup>5</sup>

### SECTION 33.—RETURN OF MUHAMMAD AMĪN KHĀN FROM MĀLWAH.

Muhammad Amīn Khān who had, as we have seen, deserted the

<sup>1</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad, 429.

<sup>2</sup> Nāṣir Khān died on the 24th Muḥarram 1131 H., 16th December, 1718.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 792, asserts that the *chaklah* was given in *āl-taqmah* (literally "Red-seal") or perpetual grant.

<sup>4</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad, 414, 431, Kāmwar Khān, 186.

<sup>5</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 187, Mirzā Muḥammad, 431.



post of danger in Mālwah, now arrived near the city. In the preceding year he had received orders to clear the Mālwah province from an incursion of the Mahrattas, but owing to the delay he made, for objects of his own, he fell under the imperial displeasure, was removed from the office of Second Bakhshī, and exiled from Court as permanent governor of Mālwah. From that time he had been employed in his new province. In the interval Farrukhsīyar, pursuing his endeavours to destroy the Sayyads, had recourse first to I'tiqād Khān and then to Sarbuland Khān. Despairing of them, he turned next to Ajit Singh, who went over at once to the opposite side. Nizām-ul-mulk was next appealed to. Seeing clearly the Emperor's want of firmness, he declined to undertake the business himself, but continued to favour the idea and to give advice. Some say that on his suggestion his cousin, Muḥammad Amin Khān, was recalled. No doubt, if Nizām-ul-mulk and Muḥammad Amin Khān, could have believed in the truth of the promises made to them, and had been properly supported, in all probability the two Sayyads would have been uprooted easily enough. But Farrukhsīyar was a prey to unreasoning terrors, and he could never come to any firm resolve.<sup>1</sup>

When the rumours of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's intended return to Court were confirmed, Muḥammad Amin Khān knew not what course to adopt. His force was not strong enough to enable him to throw himself across the Nawāb's route and block his way. To openly evade a meeting would leave an indelible stain on his reputation for courage. Luckily, the order came for his return to Court and he set out at once.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime Farrukhsīyar came to the conclusion that he could never oust the Sayyads, and seeing no other way of escape tried to make friends with them. By this time Muḥammad Amin Khān had marched back as far as Āgrah. Quṭb-ul-mulk thereupon remarked that as his Majesty had no longer any distrust of him, why or wherefore had he recalled Muḥammad Amin Khān? Farrukhsīyar, frightened that there would be trouble, sent off urgent orders to Muḥammad Amin Khān directing his return to Mālwah. As this order did not suit that noble's plans he disobeyed it, and leaving his baggage in Āgrah, he made forced marches towards Dihlī. On the 20th Ṣafar (11th January, 1719) he was at Bārahpulāh, a few miles to the south of the city.

On learning of Muḥammad Amin Khān's arrival, Quṭb-ul-mulk

<sup>1</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad, 433.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 802, on the other hand, asserts that he left Mālwah without orders and without permission.

said to His Majesty: "It seems that the servants of the State have "made disobedience of orders a habit. To such an extent is this the "case that, in spite of renewed orders to retrace his steps, Muḥammad "Amīn Khān has not discontinued his advance to the capital." Farrukhsīyar was put out at this complaint, and answered: "Have you anyone you can send to turn him back?" The *wazīr* then sent Rājah Ratn Cand to persuade Muḥammad Amīn to return to his government under pain of the imperial displeasure. Muḥammad Amīn Khān used strong language, even in the Rājah's presence, and utterly refused to obey. The Rājah reported this state of things to the minister. Quṭb-ul-mulk, with much heat, repeated the matter to the Emperor, and caused him to become angry. Muḥammad Amīn Khān was deprived of his rank (*manṣab*), and his revenue assignments (*jāgīrs*) were attached. Quṭb-ul-mulk considered that the stars in their courses were fighting for him, when the Emperor had been estranged from such a high-placed and valiant noble. Forthwith he set to work to make his own peace with Muḥammad Amīn, and in two or three days obtained from the Emperor permission for him to enter the city, sending out his own brother Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān, and Zafar Khān to escort him to his home. This took place on the 29th Ṣafar (20th January). The incident turned Muḥammad Amīn Khān's heart from Farrukhsīyar, and made him friendly to the cause of the Sayyads, at least to the extent of securing his neutrality.

At this point a few other changes may be noted. As a consequence of Muḥammad Amīn Khān's loss of favour, the office of paymaster to the *Aḥadīs* was taken from his son, Qamr-ud-dīn Khān, and given to Zafar Khān, Turrah, on the 1st Rabī' I. 1131 H. (21st January, 1719). Then, 'Ināyatullah Khān, with whom Quṭb-ul-mulk was displeased for his refusal to bow before the authority of Rājah Ratn Cand, lost his appointment of *Dīwān*. But as Farrukhsīyar believed in this man's honesty, he was not kept altogether out of employ, but transferred to the post of *khānsāmān*, or Lord Steward, on the 3rd Rabī' I. 1131 H. (23rd January, 1719). The *Dīwān*ship of the *Tan* (assigned revenues) was made over to Rājah Bakht Mal, a *protégé* of Muḥammad Yār Khān; as for the Exchequer or *Khālīṣah*, Quṭb-ul-mulk was told to carry on the duties till someone else was nominated, 4th Rabī' I. 1131 H. (24th January, 1719).<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 34.—ARRIVAL OF HUSAIN 'ALĪ KHĀN AT DIHLĪ.

Husain 'Alī Khān was approaching nearer and nearer to Dihlī.

<sup>1</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad, 443.

He left Burhānpur on the 22nd Muḥarram 1131 H. (14th December, 1718) and Ujjain on the 4th Ṣafar<sup>1</sup> (26th December, 1718), having crossed the Narbadā by the Akbarpur ferry. The embassy of Ikhlāṣ Khhān, who had met him near Māndū, had been unsuccessful in arresting his march. Then by letters from Barqandāz Khhān, *faujdār* of Gwāliyār, and from his own agent at Court, he heard of the renewal of friendly intercourse on the 26th Muḥarram 1131 H. (18th December, 1718), between the Emperor and Quṭb-ul-mulk. Publicly, he received the news with the remark that if His Majesty had no longer ill-will to them, they had no other object left than to serve him loyally; after he had seen the Emperor and settled certain matters, he would return to the Dakhin without delay. The Dakhin officials, on leaving Aurangābād, had been told that they would be dismissed at the Fardāpur pass; on reaching that pass, they were ordered to come on to Burhānpur. At Burhānpur, much to their disgust, their continued attendance was enjoined. Thus, when the news of a return march to the Dakhin spread from tent to tent throughout the camp, all men received it with joy and looked forward to speedily seeing their homes again. But, in a day or two, persons in the confidence of Ḥusain 'Alī Khhān divulged the fact that privately he had expressed the opinion that this was only a new plot hatched by Farrukhsīyar, that it was absurd on the face of it; had they never heard the saying: "When was a secret kept if it was told in an assembly?" A wise man could perceive the only possibly result, namely, if they fell into the clutches of the Emperor, their lives would be forfeited; but if they get hold of him, his escape was hopeless.<sup>2</sup>

All this time the supposed prince was surrounded and guarded with the greatest care. An elephant with rich trappings was set apart for him, and he rode in a canopied seat with the curtains drawn on all four sides, so that no one could see or recognize him. A separate division of the army was told off to escort him, and surrounded his elephant on every side. He was accorded the state and dignity of an imperial prince, men of rank stood on watch all night round his quarters; and on the march, two men sat behind the canopy waving fans of peacock feathers.<sup>3</sup>

When they came to the Rānā of Udepur's country, some villages and a great deal of sugar-cane were plundered by the men of the army. Soon afterwards a brahman sent by the Rānā

<sup>1</sup> Khhāfi Khhān says the 14th, but Mīrzā Muḥammad, a more precise writer, gives the 4th. The report reached Dihlī on the 29th (20th January, 719).

<sup>2</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 433, Khhāfi Khhān, II., 799, 800.

<sup>3</sup> Shiū Dās, 20a.

arrived with presents and cash. Strict orders were then issued to refrain from injuring the crops. On the contrary, when they passed into the lands of Rājah Jai Singh Sawāe, the offering brought by one of his principal officers was refused, while many villages with their crops and cattle were pillaged by the camp followers. Even the women and children of the cultivators were looked on as lawful plunder and carried off.<sup>1</sup>

Another effort was now made by Farrukhsīyar, on the 1st Rabī' I., 1131<sup>2</sup> H. (21st, January, 1719) to conciliate Ḥusain 'Alī Khān through 'Abd-ul-ghafūr. This man was married to a sister of I'tiqād Khān's (Muḥammad Murād's) wife. Early in this reign he had joined Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, was admitted to his intimacy, and made the confidant of his secrets. When his brother-in-law rose into favour, he asked permission from Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and returned to Court. Through I'tiqād Khān he was made a *Dūhazāri* (2,000). He was now promoted to 2 500 *zāt* with a standard, and deputed to interview Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, his former friend. By this time even Farrukhsīyar's intimates began to despair of him. Amīn-ud-dīn wrote: "The complexion of affairs "changes here daily, fickleness prevails, sense is absent, and every "moment one futile device is succeeded by another. It reminds one of "the fable of the mice and the cat. In a deserted spot there were "many mice, and every day the cat came and took two or three of "them. The mice met in council and resolved to hang a bell to the "cat's neck, so that having warning they might flee in time. The bell "was got. But who was there able to attach it to the cat's neck?" Farrukhsīyar's projects were of this sort, from which nothing but failure could result. He is represented as still believing that the storm would blow over as it had done before. He did not seem to see that "to heal an estranged heart was as hard as to mend a broken glass," and advice was thrown away upon him.<sup>3</sup>

When 'Abd-ul-ghafūr had started, Farrukhsīyar recollected that for a long time past Quṭb-ul-mulk had urged that, until the office of *Dāroghah* or Superintendent of the Privy Audience had been made over to one of his brothers, he and his brother could not feel themselves safe. As Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's arrival grew nearer, the Emperor felt sure he would make the same request, nay, would never come to an audience till it had been granted. But if such an appointment were made, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah would be ousted. He had long taken Farrukh-

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II., 803.

<sup>2</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 443, says it was on the 4th.

<sup>3</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 187, Dastūr-ul-Inshā, 30.

siyar's side, and though lately he had fallen out of favour, his public disgrace was not desired. Accordingly on the 10th Rabī' I. (30th January, 1719) he was consoled with the place of 2nd Bakhshī, from which Islām Khān was ejected. Şamşām-ud-daulah's duties as deputy of Husain 'Alī Khān, the first Bakhshī, were transferred to Zafar Khān, Turrah, who was friendly with the Sayyads, and at the same time professed to be zealous for the Emperor. He made all the efforts he could to bring the parties to an agreement. For his attempts to keep friends with everybody he was described, Khāfi Khān says, as "the ingredient in every dish."<sup>1</sup> Sayyad Şalābat Khān succeeded Zafar Khān as fourth Bakhshī.<sup>2</sup>

Sarbuland Khān had lately been appointed to Kābul, but was still discontented. To appease him the Emperor ordered Quṭb-ul-mulk to visit him. This visit took place on the 9th Rabī' I. (29th January, 1719), I'tiqād Khān accompanying the *wazīr*. Sarbuland Khān on the 13th moved out as far as the Salt Market on his way to Kābul. Three days afterwards he was visited, by express orders, by Mahārājah Ajit Singh and Mahārāo Bhīm Singh. Then at Sarāe Mihr Parwar, nine kos from the city,<sup>3</sup> he halted and awaited the course of events.<sup>4</sup>

Another new appointment, made on the 18th Rabī' I. 1131 H. (7th February, 1719), was that of Nizām-ul-mulk to the province of 'Azīm-ābad-Paṭnah in place of Khān Zāmān Khān. From the first up to this time Nizām-ul-mulk had never asked a favour from Quṭb-ul-mulk or his brother, and had even refrained from visiting them. On many occasions, during these troubles, he had urged on Farrukhsiyar the uprooting of the Sayyads as the best course he could pursue. On this account the two brothers were far from well disposed towards him. But now Farrukhsiyar, in a state of mortal fright, had placed himself completely in the hands of the two brothers. Under these altered circumstances, it was to the Emperor's interest to put an end to the quarrels and ill-feeling among the nobles, and he urged Quṭb-ul-mulk to take the first step in making friends with Nizām-ul-mulk. This reconciliation falling in with Quṭb-ul-mulk's own ideas, on the 18th Rabī' I. (7th February, 1719) accompanied by two of his sister's sons, Sayyad Ghairat Khān

<sup>1</sup> *Nakhūd-i-hamah āsh*, "the pea in every plāt" (Khāfi Khān, II., 806), a proverbial saying applied to a busybody, Roebuck, 419.

<sup>2</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 444.

<sup>3</sup> Sarāe Mihr Parwar is not marked on the Indian Atlas; it must have been between Narelah and Sonpat, perhaps near Akbarpur Barotah. Miskīn, B.M. Oriental, No. 1918, fol. 67a, mentions it as lying ten kos from Dihlī.

<sup>4</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 445, Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 248.

and Sayyad Shajā 'at-ullah Khān, and by Zāfar Khān, he paid a visit to Nizām-ul-mulk. Their talk was of a friendly character and to all appearance amity took the place of enmity. This was followed on the 23rd (12th February, 1719) by a banquet given to Nizām-ul-mulk at Quṭb-ul-mulk's house, when the host loaded his guest with costly presents. Nizām-ul-mulk at the request of the *wazīr* was now appointed governor of Bahār, or 'Azīmábād-Paṭnah. With one exception, that of Rājah Jai Singh, all the influential nobles had now been won over to the party of the Sayyads and had deserted Farrukhsīyar. The case of Nizām-ul-mulk furnishes a flagrant instance of Farrukhsīyar's shortsightedness. He had recalled this noble from Murādābād, and without providing him with any equivalent, his charge was given to I'tiqād Khān, the favourite. Naturally Nizām-ul-mulk was disgusted, and became a willing listener to overtures from Quṭb-ul-mulk.<sup>1</sup>

As Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was now not very far off, on the 21st Rabī' I. (10th February, 1719) Zāfar-Khān, and a day or two afterwards I'tiqād Khān, were sent out to greet him on the Emperor's behalf. They found his camp, on the 25th Rabī' I. 1131 H. (14th February, 1719), at Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān, about sixteen miles south-west of the city.<sup>2</sup> They are said to have met with a very ungracious reception. Zāfar Khān gave offence by his ostentatious retinue; but more potent still was the talk of Rājah Ratn Cand, who had managed to anticipate them. He had already impressed Ḥusain 'Alī Khān with the belief that even after the last reconciliation, Farrukhsīyar continued both openly and secretly to favour those who wished to supersede the Sayyads, and had conferred on their enemies gifts and promotions, giving them hints to carry on the struggle. In short, through bad advice, the Emperor was still intent on "using his hatchet to cut his own foot." Amīn-ud-dīn was one of the men who interviewed Ḥusain 'Alī Khān at this halting-place. He writes to the Emperor that, having been taken by Ikhlāṣ Khān to the *Mīr Bakhs̄hī*, he laid before him the message with which he had been entrusted. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān smiled but said nothing. As it was getting late, Amīn-ud-dīn asked what answer he should send. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān said that, as there was no time left, he would see him again on the morrow at the next stage, Sarāe Moth.<sup>3</sup> But if,

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II., 792, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 446, Kāmwar Khān, 188.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 804, says that Zāfar Khān and Ratn Cand reached the camp four stages from Dihlī. Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān is on the Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 49, S.W.: it lies two miles south of Gurganw. *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 139, mentions Koṭ Patīlī, 99 miles S.W. of Dihlī in Jaipur territory, as one of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's halting places, Thornton 528, Lat. 27° 43', Long. 76° 16'.

<sup>3</sup> Sarāe Moth is no doubt meant for Moth ki, Masjid, about 5½ miles south of

as he had demanded, the interior of the palace were made over to their guards, all the Emperor's servants turned out, and the keys of all the gates handed to their men, he would, in the presence of His Majesty say and do what was requisite. In Amin-ud-din's opinion things looked very black, even *Ikhlas Khān* threw the blame of his ill-success on *Farrukhsiyar's* inconsistent conduct; "or rather what fault did your Majesty commit; Fate had willed that it should be so." Amin-ud-din winds up by offering a choice of two courses. First, *I'tiqād Khān* having been sent a prisoner to the *Kotwālī* or city police office, *Ṣamsām-ud-daulah*, *Ghālib Jang*, *Mīr Mushrif*, and others should be called out to defend their sovereign; neither the guards of the palace should be withdrawn nor the keys of the gates made over; and His Majesty should issue forth and take the command in person. The other suggestion was that *Farrukhsiyar* should mount his horse and ride out alone, and presenting himself as a supplicant, ask for forgiveness: whatever sacrifice was demanded must be made. Even thus it was doubtful if *Husain 'Alī Khān* would be appeased.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 35.—*HUSAIN 'ALĪ KHĀN MARCHES TO WAZĪRĀBĀD.*

On the 27th *Rabī' I.*, 1131 H. (16th Feb. 1719) *Husain 'Alī Khān* at the head of his army, estimated to include 30,000 horsemen, marched to *Wazirābād*, one of the imperial hunting preserves about four miles north of the city, on the *Jamnah* bank.<sup>2</sup> As they passed, his troops plundered the shops and trod down, in the most merciless manner, the standing crops in the fields outside the city. By this time he had often been heard to say, that as he no longer considered himself to be in the imperial service, why should he respect the rules of etiquette; the sovereign's anger, or the loss of rank having no terrors left for him. Disregarding the rules forbidding the playing of the *naubat* within one mile of the capital, he marched in with sovereign state, kettle-drums beating and clarions sounding. His fear fell on the hearts of all men, great and small. *Farrukhsiyar* was so overwhelmed with apprehension that he took no notice of this transgression; and persisting in his

the *Dihlī* gate of *Shāhjahānābad*, see map in Carr Stephens, p. 1, and description on p. 166.

<sup>1</sup> *Mīrzā Muḥammad*, 447; *Kāmwar Khān*, 189, 193; *Khāfī Khān*, II, 804; *Dastūr-ul-inshā* 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Khāfī Khān* II, 804, names *Sarāe Bādli*, which is a place about 3 miles due west of *Wazirābād*. *Muḥammad Qāsim*, 230, says the camp was close to the pillar of *Firūz Shāh*, and near *Quṭb-ul-mulk's* mansion. This must mean the second pillar north of the city, see *ante*, Section 32. In the '*Ibrat-nāmah* of *Kām Rāj*, 65, the place is described as *Lāt Firūz Shāh*, "near the camp of *Ajīt Singh*."

senseless conduct, he forwarded daily messages to the haughty rebel in soft and flattering words, with presents of fruit, *betel* and scent. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's pride increased in proportion, and to all these overtures he returned nothing but harsh answers. Still Farrukhsīyar's advisers persuaded him that all this rigour and this ill-temper were assumed, and merely intended by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān to increase his own importance, without betokening anything more serious.<sup>1</sup>

On the 29th (18th Feb. 1719) Muḥammad Amīn Khān and Nawāb Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khān, Ghālib Jang, came at different hours to visit Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. It is said that Muḥammad Amīn Khān, being angry with Farrukhsīyar, urged Ḥusain 'Alī Khān to depose him, and the danger from the Mughal party, which up to this time had threatened, was thus dissipated completely. On the 30th (19th Feb. 1719) Quṭb-ul-mulk, Mahārajah Ajit Singh and Maharāo Bhīm Singh came to see Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. The three men held council together and their projects took shape and substance. It was decided that first of all, before Ḥusain 'Alī Khān presented himself, the post of Dāroghah of the Privy Audience and the command of the artillery should be confided to their nominees. Farrukhsīyar, owing to the presence of the rival prince, was in such a state of trepidation that, as one writer says, "his liver melted through fear." He wished Amīn-ud-dīn to find out what the Sayyads were plotting. Amīn-ud-dīn refused and repeated his former advice. But from a friend, who had access to the Sayyads, he had just received a note, which he sent on in original. In this it was stated that Farrukhsīyar was to be deposed, and one of the captive princes raised to the throne. "Now was the time, in God's name, to fight for life, to brace himself up to resolve! For, if he paid no heed, he might be sure that Fortune would say good-bye, and the lamp of success would be extinguished. What care or sorrow could the writer and his friends have, save for His Majesty's person; to them individually what did it matter? It is the ass that is changed, not the pack-saddle."<sup>2</sup>

Following the advice of I'tiqād Khān, all the demands made by the Sayyads were conceded. On the 1st Rabī 'II., 1131 H. (20th February, 1719) Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah was ordered to vacate the house in

<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 447; Kāmwar Khān 189; Khāfī Khān, II, 804; Shiū Dās, 24a.

<sup>2</sup> The strong language of this letter is so opposed to all the usual forms, that one almost doubts its authenticity, but Ghulām Ḥusain Khān in his *Sīyar-ul-muta-akharīn* has used others in the same collection as good historical evidence. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 448; *Dastūr-ul-inshā* 59.



the fort known as the *Peshkhānah*. He left it and moved into his own mansion in the city. Some five to six thousand of the Emperor's own troops (the *Wālā Shāhi*), and all Ṣamsām-ud-daulah's retainers marched out of the fort. The following appointments were then made: Sayyad Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān (with I'tiqād Khān as deputy) to be Dāroghah of the Privy Audience, *vice* Ṣamsām-ud-daulah; Sayyad Khān Jahān (with Zafar Khān as deputy) to be commandant of the imperial artillery; 'Abd-un-nabī Khān to be head officer of the Mace-bearers; Sayyad Shajā'at Khān to be the head officer of the *Jilau*, or retinue; Nijābat 'Alī Khān to be Nāẓir or head of the Harem; and Sayyad Ghairat Khān to be Governor of Āgrah. Farrukhsīyar insisted that as the celebration of the *Nauroz*, or New Year's day, was so close at hand, I'tiqād Khān and the other old officials should continue to act for a few days as the deputies of the new office-holders. But in spite of the remonstrances addressed to him by his own people, Farrukhsīyar agreed that on the day of the interview, the gates of the fort and the doors of the palace should be held by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's men.<sup>1</sup>

During these few days the city was full of rumours, and fear spread among all classes. Daily the nobles were seen hastening to and fro in vain efforts to arrange the question in dispute. Even Quṭb-ul-mulk professed to be exerting himself in the same direction. It is said that in those few days Rājah Jai Singh several times pointed out to Farrukhsīyar many indications that the other side meant to come to no arrangement. It were well then, he urged, before matters went beyond mending, to take the field and fall upon the Sayyads. All would rally to his side, he, Jai Singh, had with him nearly 20,000 tried and trusty horsemen, and until the last breath had left his body he would fight for his master. Their enemy was not likely to resist long. Even if the Fates were unpropitious, they would have escaped, at any rate, the taunt of being cowards. All was in vain. The infatuated Emperor persisted in his attempt to buy off the Sayyads by concession after concession; and a few days afterwards, yielding to the insistence of Quṭb-ul-mulk, he, by a note written with his own hand, ordered Rājah Jai Singh and Rāo Budh Singh to march from Dihlī to their own country. The Rājah was told that the following day was an "auspicious moment" for a start, and as his robe of honour on departure accompanied the note, he need not wait for a farewell interview.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Khāfī Khān, II, 806. The *Nauroz* would fall on 29th Rabī' II, 20th March, 1719, Kāmwar Khān, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Shiū Dās, 236, gives the words of Farrukhsīyar's note. Jai Singh's autograph to the Rānā's minister (Tod I, 370) conforms generally to the Mahomedan

A eunuch brought the note to the Rajah ; he protested but was not listened to ; and seeing no help for it, he obeyed, and moved to Sarāe Sahil. This was on the 3rd Rabī' II. (22nd February, 1719).<sup>1</sup>

On this same day, there was a fight on the march between Rājah Bhīm Singh and Rājah Budh Singh, who were first cousins, and had quarrelled over the succession to their ancestral country of Būndī. Several Rajputs and the Dīwān of Budh Singh were slain. In the end Bhīm Singh's side prevailed and Budh Singh, with a small following, rode off to Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān to seek the protection of Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, who had taken his side in the dispute.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION 36.—HUSAIN 'ALĪ KHĀN'S FIRST AUDIENCE.

On the 4th Rabī' II (23rd February, 1719)<sup>3</sup> Quṭb-ul-mulk and his brother Husain 'Alī Khān were to be received by the Emperor. Quṭb-ul-mulk and Ajit Singh repaired to the palace early in the morning, removed all the imperial guards, and substituted men of their own. At three hours after sunrise, Husain 'Alī Khān set out. First of all came the Mahrattas, their ranks reaching from the entrance of the hunting preserve to the gate of the fortress, their lances (*nezah*) and spears (*bhālah*) reminding the spectator of a waving reed-bed or cane-brake. Following them marched the Nawāb and his retinue. Owing to the great crowds, progress was slow and the palace was not reached till close upon three o'clock. On the arrival of the Sayyads in the hall of audience, the few remaining eunuchs and pages were turned out, leaving only the two brothers and Ajit Singh with the Emperor. Husain 'Alī Khān bowed down to kiss the Emperor's feet, but Farrukh-siyar preventing this act of homage, put his arms round him and embraced him. The Bakhshī offered 100 gold coins and 100 rupees ; and in return received gifts of the usual character. Conversation then began. Husain 'Alī Khān first brought up the subject of the *farmān* sent to Dāūd Khān, which had been found among the confiscated goods

accounts. Sahil is given by Tod as Serbul Sarae. In neither form have I traced it. The Rājah says he moved on the 9th Phāgun 1775 S. (28th Rabī' I, 1131 H., 17th February, 1719), and his letter is dated 19th Phāgun (8th Rabi II, 27th February). The wording of the letter shows that it was written after the arrival of Husain 'Alī Khān, that is, after the 27th Rabī' I, (16th February,) but before the 9th Rabī' II (28th February). But my authorities show the move to Sarāe Sahil as taking place on the 14th Phāgun (3rd Rabī' II, 22nd February). I cannot reconcile the discrepancy, unless General Cunningham's tables are wrong.

<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 449 ; Khāfi Khān, II, 805, 806 ; Kāmwar Khān, 191.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 806, and the Rājah's letter in Tod, I, 370.

<sup>3</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad says it was the 5th, also Khāfi Khān, II, 806, and the *M-ul-umarā*, I, 330. I follow Kāmwar Khān.

of that noble after his death. Farrukhsiyar declared it to be a forgery; he knew nothing about it. Husain 'Alī Khān next demanded further concessions. I'tiqād Khān and several others must be excluded from court, and all the offices round His Majesty's person must be made over permanently to the Sayyads and their nominees.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first questions to cross Farrukhsiyar's lips was: "Where is your prisoner, the son of Prince Akbar?" "He is here," replied Husain 'Alī Khān, "but the Dakhanīs object to produce him before they have received Sāhū's mother and brother." Accordingly Bandhū, who for over thirty years had been prisoner, was brought out and made over to the Mahrattas. Husain 'Alī Khān then promised to bring the prince to audience on the following day, and deliver him over publicly, so that no future doubts as to his fate might arise.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor and the Bakhshī now pledged themselves anew to each other. Farrukhsiyar took off his turban and placed it on the head of Husain 'Alī Khān, adding a gift of all the jewels that he was then wearing. Husain 'Alī Khān accepted only a part of the gifts offered to him. The interview was prolonged until three hours after nightfall, and when the Sayyad had left, all men believed that the strife had been allayed and ill-will converted into friendliness. The courtiers began to extol the boldness of His Majesty and praise the loyalty and good faith of the honourable Sayyads.<sup>3</sup>

On the 5th and 6th Rabī' II (24th and 25th February, 1719) Farrukhsiyar sat as usual in the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ*; and all seemed likely to go on as before. The 8th Rabī' II was one of the days fixed in each week for hunting expeditions. Believing that the storm had blown over, the Emperor issued orders to prepare his retinue for that day, intending to go out of the city as usual.<sup>4</sup> Suspicion arose in the Sayyads' minds that this was a mere pretext for flight to Jai Singh's camp, which was not then very far off. Quṭb-ul-mulk at once wrote to the Emperor that on that day, the 8th, Husain 'Alī Khān craved an audience, for the purpose of delivering the captive prince brought from

<sup>1</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad, 450; Kāmwar Khān, 190; Khāfī Khān, II, 806; Muḥammad Qāsim, 232.

<sup>2</sup> Shiū Dās, 24b, but Wārid, 157b, places this conversation on the last two days of the reign. Khūshhāl Cand (B.M. 3288, fo. : 316b), following the *Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālam-gīrī* (p. 333), calls the younger brothers of Sāhū, Madan Singh and Udhū Singh. Kāmwar, 199, (1st Jamādī I, 1131 H.) speaks of one only, Madan Singh; and his release is placed on the 1st Jamādī I, 1131, (21st March, 1719). Grant-Duff, p. 184, l. 17, calls Madan the illegitimate son of Shambū Jī.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfī Khān, II, 807.

<sup>4</sup> The days fixed were two a week, Saturday and Wednesday, Shiū Dās, 3a. I make the 8th to be a Monday or a Tuesday.

the Dakhin, and of taking his own leave before returning to that province. Overjoyed at the prospect of at last obtaining possession of this dreaded rival, Farrukhsiyar countermanded his expedition or, as another contemporary writer maintains, the hunting expedition had been a mere pretext. By this second account, it had been decided that directly the Emperor left the palace he should fall upon the Nawāb, whose suspicions, as they thought, would have been lulled by the negotiations, and thus catching him unawares, he would be easily destroyed. A message was sent postponing the audience; but before it reached him, Husain 'Alī Khān had been warned by a woman in the harem. In his answer, he announced that as the next day had been pronounced exceedingly auspicious, he could not put off the audience, and prayed that the hunting excursion might be countermanded instead. His troops remained on the alert all night; and three hours before sunrise, Rājah Muḥkam Singh occupied the Lāhorī gate of the palace, where he awaited Quṭb-ul-mulk.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION 37.—THE SAYYADS TAKE POSSESSION OF THE PALACE.

On the 8th Rabī' II, 1131 H., (27th February, 1719), early in the morning, Quṭb-ul-mulk entered the palace with his own relations and dependants, Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān, Ghairat Khān and others, followed by Rājah Ajit Singh, Mahārāo Bhīm Singh, Hādā, and Rājah Gaj Singh, Narwarī. The imperial artillerymen and the matchlockmen on guard were removed from the bastions and battlements, and evacuated the palace. Not a single soul was left in attendance on the Emperor, except I'tiqād Khān, Zafar Khān and two or three eunuchs. The Wazīr took up his position in the house known as the *Peshkhānah* of the late Ja'far Khān,<sup>2</sup> which had been lately vacated by Ṣamsām-ud-daulah; while the three Rājahs were sent to occupy the office-rooms of the Revenue (*dīwānī*) and of the chamberlain's (*khānsāmān*) departments. The keys of the Privy Council chamber (*Dīwān-ī-khāṣ*), of the sleeping room, and of the Hall of Justice were sent for; and the doors of the palace and the gates of the fort were confided to men trusted by the Sayyads; troops were hidden in the antechambers (*jilau-khānah*) and the palace was guarded on all sides.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kām Rāj, *Ibratnāmah*, 15b, Kāmwar Khān, 190, 191, Mīrza Muḥammad, 452.

<sup>2</sup> Khushḥāl Cand, 413b, states that Quṭb-ul-mulk went to the Haiyāt Bagh. This is more usually called the Haiyāt Bakhsh. It was a garden occupying the north-west corner of the Lāl Qila'h or palace, (see Carr Stephens, p. 216, plan). The Ja'far Khān here referred to is, no doubt, the man who died in 1080 H. (1669-1670). He was the son-in-law of Āṣaf Khān, see *M-ul-U.* I., 151, 531, II., 729.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 807; Kāmwar Khān, 192; Mīrza Muḥammad, 452.

About midday, leaving Saif-ud-din 'Alī Khān in charge of his baggage, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān entered the city at the head of 30,000 or 40,000 horsemen and a well equipped artillery, bringing with him the supposed prince, seated on an elephant in a canopied howdah, and heralds running before him proclaiming his titles. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān proceeded to the mansion known as the *Bārahdarī* of the late Amīr-ul-umarā, Shāistah Khān,<sup>1</sup> which had been granted to him early in Farrukhsiyar's reign. The Mahratta horsemen drew up at the gates of the palace and in the adjoining lanes of the city. Outside the palace, during the whole of that day, not a soul had the remotest suspicion of any hostile movements. The first inkling of any fresh disagreement was obtained between sunset and evening prayer-time. I'tiqād Khān was seen to come out of the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ*, his limbs trembling from fright, scramble into the first palanquin he could find, and make off to his house. Soon afterwards, Karm Cand, an agent employed at the court, wrote to those outside that all the Sayyads' demands had been complied with, including the degradation of I'tiqād Khān to the rank that he had held in 'Ālamgīr's reign. This news at once spread agitation and anxiety throughout the city. All night long Quṭb-ul-mulk and Mabārājah Ajit Singh remained in the palace, and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in his own mansion.<sup>2</sup>

What had happened within the palace must now be told. After much discussion Quṭb-ul-mulk, at a time between midday and afternoon prayer, presented himself before the Emperor. Quṭb-ul-mulk at once repudiated Farrukhsiyar's proffered compromise, by which I'tiqād Khān and his other friends were to act as the deputies of the Sayyads and their nominees. From the first, Quṭb-ul-mulk had objected to the appointment as Nāzir of the harem of anyone not a eunuch. I'tiqād Khān was removed from that office, which was made over to a eunuch, Maḥal-dār Khān. Next, the wazīr expatiated on the base return given for his and his brother's services, bringing up again the secret instructions to Dāūd Khān, and similar letters sent to Rājah Sāhū, Mahratta, and others, all of which the Sayyads had in their possession. The Emperor's repeated appeals: "Why does not my brother, the Amīr-ul-umarā, bring to me the suppositious prince," passed entirely unheeded. In the course of this conversation Farrukhsiyar lost his temper and was overcome with anger; both sides were thus led to the use of abusive

<sup>1</sup> Shāistah Khān, maternal uncle of 'Ālamgīr Aurangzeb, died at Āgrah in the middle of 1105 H. (1695), (*M-ul-U*. II, 709 and *T-i-Muḥammadī*.) His house stood on the edge of the *Shāh-nahr* or canal, opposite the Lāhor gate of the palace, (Muḥammad Qāsim, 236).

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, II., 807. *Kām Rāj*, 'Ibratnāmah, 66a. *Shiū Dās*, 25a.

language and harsh expressions, things being said which had better been left unsaid. In his rage Farrukhsīyar shouted: "If I am a true son of "Azīm-ush-shān and a real descendant of the Lord of the Conjunctions " (*i.e.* Taimur), I will impose retribution for these uncalled-for deeds " and this unmeasured audacity. I will have the lands of the Bārhab " ploughed by asses, and mice thrust into the trousers of their women."<sup>1</sup> Qutb-ul-mulk grew furious, and venting his wrath in disrespectful words, left the *Dīwān-ī-khāṣ* for the guard-room (*peshkhānah*) of the *Dīwān-ī-'alā*, and turned out seven hundred of I'tiqād Khān's horsemen who were still on guard at the *Khizrī*, or water-gate of the palace, and the rest of Ajit Singh's men. He saw now that if they were to save themselves, extremities must be resorted to, for as Sa'dī has said: "When a snake touches the foot of the villager, he withdraws it and " breaks the snake's head with a stone."<sup>2</sup> As soon as the minister had left his presence, Farrukhsīyar turned upon I'tiqād Khān and poured out on him angry abuse and reproach. We are told that I'tiqād Khān had ventured to object to delivering the keys of the gate to the Sayyads. This aroused Farrukhsīyar's anger, and turning to him he exclaimed: "O wretched man! all this calamity has come on me by " reason of you. This moment, when I am a prisoner in their hands, " you choose as the time for giving contrary advice." The Emperor ordered him to be turned out of the palace. I'tiqād Khān, seeing that things had assumed for him a different complexion, hurried away to his own dwelling, as already stated.<sup>3</sup>

Farrukhsīyar now began to cool, and addressing Zafar Khān said: "Bring back 'Abdullah Khān by any means you can; I will do all that " he demands." Zafar Khān replied: "The opportunity has been lost: " the only thing is for your Majesty to go to him in person." Farrukhsīyar refused. Then full of mingled rage and fear, he quitted the window of the Privy Audience Chamber and entered the female apartments. The queens and the concubines crowded round him, the Turkī: and Habshī women were told off to guard the doors, and the night was passed "in supplication and lamentation before the throne of the Eternal." Qutb-ul-mulk had turned Zafar Khān out of the fort, and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibratnāmah*, Kām Rāj, 66a. Yoking donkeys in a plough and driving them over the ruins of a captured fort was a well-known practice. See Elliot "Supp. Gloss." under *Gadhe kā hal*, or Donkey plough. The practice was known to the Tamils in early times, see Dr. G. N. Pope's article in R. A. S. Journal, April, 1899, p. 252: "Asses are yoked to plough up the soil with spears, while worthless plants " are sown on the foundations. Thus rages the conquering king."

<sup>2</sup> *Az ān mār bar pāe ra'i zanad, kih tarsad, sar-ash rā ba-kobad ba-sang.*

<sup>3</sup> Kām Rāj. *Ibratnāmah*, 66a. Khāfī Khān, II, 807, Yahyā Khān, 124b, Muḥammad Qāsim, 237.

placed his own sentries to guard the Privy Audience Chamber or *Diwān-khānah*. One of the most curious incidents in this confused drama, was a despairing attempt by Farrukhsiyar to secure the aid of Ajit Singh. He wrote: "The east side of the palace, towards the Jamnah, is not guarded; if you can, despatch there some of your men, so that I may get out and make off somewhere or another." He gave this note to a eunuch, who thrust it into his pocket, and succeeding by a thousand wiles in eluding the vigilance of the guards, placed it in the Rājah's hand. The Rājah replied that the proper time had gone by, what could he do now? Some even say that he sent on the original letter to 'Abdullah Khān. The wazīr called at once for Curā, Jāt, to whom was assigned a post on the river bank below the octagonal bastion of the fort<sup>1</sup>. On every roof sat the Sayyads' men with loaded wall-pieces ready to fire. In short, "such close guarding was carried out and such care taken, that not even the gentle breeze could find a way into or out of the fort." In every lane and street of the city the outcry was heard that the Emperor had been deposed. No food was eaten, no repose taken; the night passed in fear and expectation. The more sanguine believed that in the morning Rājah Jai Singh would march in from Sarāe Sahil in the one direction, and Sarbuland Khān from Sarāe Mihr Parwar in the other; and by their united forces would rescue Farrukhsiyar out of his enemies' hands, and replace him on the throne.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION 38.—THE LAST DAY OF THE REIGN.

At last the fateful morning dawned of the 9th Rabi' II, 1131 H. (28th February, 1719). Only an hour or an hour-and-a-half after day-break, a great disturbance arose in the city. Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cīn, Bahādur, and Zakariyā Khān (son of 'Ābd-uṣ-ṣamad Khān), at the desire apparently of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, were on their way at the head of their Mughals to attend the Sayyad's *darbār*.<sup>3</sup> As the crowd of Mahrattas in the streets and lanes near the fort impeded their progress, the Mughals began to push them forcibly on one side, and open a route for the two Nawābs and their retinue. Having in the Dakhin felt for many a year the weight of the right arm, the Mahrattas as soon as they saw their Mughals' faces, fled like a flock of sheep before a pack of

<sup>1</sup> This bastion, the *Ṣaman burj*, is the central one upon the river front of the fort (see Carr Stephens, p. 216, plan). In places we have *muṣamman*, i.e., octagonal.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 192, who got his facts from Zafar Khān, Turrahbāz, who was present himself. Shiū Dās, 25a, Khūshhāl Cand, 413b, Muḥammad Qāsim, 248.

<sup>3</sup> Kām Rāj, 66, Zakariyā Khān was approaching the palace from the direction of Bāzār Khānum.

wolves. So overcome with fear were they, that with no man pursuing, they allowed the bazar idlers—butchers, washermen, and scavengers—to relieve them of their horses and spears. Things came to such a pass that the *Bhatiyārins*, or women attendants belonging to the public *sarāe* in Mughalpurah, seized each the bridle reins of some five of these *Rāwat*<sup>1</sup> horsemen, and by hitting them with sticks or throwing bricks at them, unhorsed them in spite of their lances, stripped them, and killed them. In their panic the men lifted neither hand nor foot to defend themselves, but crept like mice into any doorway or passage that they could find. They were killed as if they were dogs or cats. It was enough for a shopkeeper to stand up, and with a sign or a frown to demand the surrender of their arms. Calling out, *Āre bāp! Āre bāp!* and throwing away their straight Dakhani swords<sup>2</sup> and their shields, they stood on one leg with a straw between their lips, and besought mercy, saying *Nako! Nako!*<sup>3</sup> Two or three leaders of repute lost their lives, among them the chief Santā, who commanded some five or six thousand horsemen. From the gate of the fort to the entrance of the hunting preserve, and the Market (*mandavī*) and the Takiyah of Majnūn Shāh, a distance of three or four kos, bodies were to be seen in every direction. The slain included many men who, from the darkness of their complexion, had been mistaken for Mahrattas. All the *āftābgīr*, a kind of standard which the Mahrattas carry as a mark of honour, one to every fifteen or twenty horsemen, had disappeared.<sup>4</sup> The lining of their saddles was ripped open, the plundered gold and jewels hidden there were taken, and the bags of coin collected from villages in Rājah Jai Singh's country, were extracted from their waist-cloths. It was estimated that 1,500 to 2,000 Mahrattas lost their lives on that day.<sup>5</sup> This, the first armed Mahratta appearance at Dihlī, where in forty years' time they were to be lords and masters, was not of happy augury. They were not accustomed to street fighting and were, no

<sup>1</sup> *Rāwat* (hero, chief), is used here by the Mahomedan historian as a synonym for inferior Hindūs, mere rustics, or in other words "beggars on horseback."

<sup>2</sup> *Dhop*.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad Qāsim, 244. The custom known as *Dānt-tinkā*, or "straw between teeth," expressive of abject submission, Elliot, "Supp. Gloss," 252; *Āre bāp* = "O father!" an exclamation of sudden terror; "*Nako, Nako*" = Dakhinī for "Do not, do not," Kām Rāj, 66, and J. Shakespear, 2078.

<sup>4</sup> See Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 50. It was a sort of large fan of oval shape at the end of a long handle.

<sup>5</sup> Grant Duff, 199, and Briggs, 178, say 1,500: Wārid, 158a, 2,000. *Khāfi Khān*, II, 811, says he himself was present as a spectator, and gives the number as 1,500; Mirzā Muḥammad has 3,000 to 4,000; Kām Rāj, 66, four hundred.



doubt, overtaken by irresistible panic.<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān draws the moral that this disgraceful rout was a special interposition of Providence. For, if it had not happened, would they not, for ages to come, have boasted that they had gone to Dihlī, the imperial capital, and there deposed and imprisoned the Emperor of Hindustān? If Khāfi Khān, poor man, had lived a little longer, he would have seen events that turned such a boast into no more than the sober truth!

During this outbreak reports spread that, on learning the intention to seize Farrukhsīyar, Mahārājah Ajit Singh, unable to restrain himself any longer, had plunged a dagger into Qutb-ul-mulk several times, and had despatched him. Although everybody knew that, except the Sayyads' partisans, there was no one in the fort, and therefore no one likely to do such an act, people were ready, in the confusion and uproar, to believe that anything was possible. It was confidently asserted that Nizām-ul-mulk had come out to rescue his sovereign, but he was far too prudent to make any such attempt. He stood with his Mughals in the enclosure of the Fruit Market until he heard that Farrukhsīyar had been seized, and thereupon withdrew to his house. Other nobles who still clung to Farrukhsīyar's cause, appeared in the streets and turned towards the palace, prepared to fight their way to it. These were I'tiqād Khān, Mīr Mushrif,<sup>2</sup> Islām Khān, Mukhlis Khān, Mun'im Khān, Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān and Saifullah Khān, Bakhshī, with some of the *Wālā Shāhī*; Ṣamsām-ud-daulah did not appear in person, but sent his men. Manohar, captain of artillery, with two or three thousand of the emperor's artillery, also took the field. This group advanced as far as the Dihlī gate of the fort and the square of the late Sa'dullah Khān, just south of that gate. Āghar Khān with his Mughals also appeared on the west side of the fort, in front of the Lāhorī gate, and wished to take part in the resistance to the Sayyads. But the gates were shut in his face and he was obliged to beat a retreat. In another direction, that of the Cāndnī Cauk, appeared Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khān (Aḥmad Beg) and Sādāt Khān, the emperor's father-in-law.

The Sayyads advanced their artillery from its position near the imperial stables, and threw several shot from *rahkalaḥs* and *dhamkaḥs*

<sup>1</sup> Wārid, 158a, Muḥammad Qāsim, 244; Khāfi Khān, II, 811, 814; Mīrzā Muḥammad, 453; Kāmwar Khān, 193.

<sup>2</sup> Mīr Mushrif, once Dāroghah of artillery in Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's service, had been lately taken into the Emperor's employ (Khāfi Khān, II, 812). Having quarrelled with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, he left the Dakhin, and arrived at Dihlī on the 26th Rabī' II, 1130 H. (28th March, 1718).

in the direction of their assailants, and more than once the cannon over the Dihli gate were discharged against the men debouching from the Faiz Bāzār; while Sayyad Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, the Sayyads' Bakhshī held the Dihlī gate.<sup>1</sup> The fight went on for forty minutes. Sādāt Khān had pushed on as far as the *Cabūtrah* or Police Office in the Cāndnī Cauk, where he received gunshot and sword wounds which forced him to retire.<sup>2</sup> His son, a youth, was made a prisoner and taken to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān (Aḥmad Beg) fought his best, but he had no disciplined troops, and the few followers that he led, after interchanging a blow or two with the other side, took to their heels. He, too, not being reinforced by other nobles, was forced in the end to beat a retreat to his house, fighting as he went.

About midday the news spread that Farrukhsiyar was a prisoner, and that another prince had been raised to the throne. Then the drums beat within the palace to announce the new reign. In spite of this, the opposing nobles stood their ground and resisted until the afternoon. When at last they saw that there was no further hope of success, and as the saying is, "to beat cold iron is profitless," they dispersed full of apprehension to their homes. The disturbance now ceased. From the square (*cauk*) of Sa'dullah Khān to the Dihlī gate the houses were plundered; while the imperial stables which surrounded the palace were set on fire, and some of the horses were burned. With these exceptions the city did not suffer.<sup>3</sup>

SECTION 39.—FARRUKHSIYAR IS MADE A PRISONER AND DEPOSED.

From early dawn on the 9th Rabi' II, (28th February, 1719) Quṭb-ul-mulk continued to send messengers to persuade Farrukhsiyar to come out and take his seat on the throne as usual. Farrukhsiyar refused absolutely to set foot outside the female apartments. Indeed, he made use of some very florid language. He swore that, by the blood of Taimur, the world-conqueror, which flowed in his veins, he would so scourge these rebels, that for years to come their fate should be a tale on the people's tongue, and a warning to traitors intending to follow their example. Quṭb-ul-mulk knew not what further pretext to devise to win his consent to reappear, in order that directions might issue for

<sup>1</sup> For Faiz Bāzār, Dihlī gate of fort, Cauk Sa'dullah Khān, see Carr Stephens, 244, 245, 246, 247. Sa'dullah Khān, *Wazīr* of Shāhjahān, died 2nd Jamādī II, 1066, H. (17th April, 1656), *M-ul-U*, II, 448.

<sup>2</sup> Sādāt Khān died the same night of these wounds.

<sup>3</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad 455; Khāfī Khān, II, 809, 812, 813; *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 144b, 145a; Muḥammad Qāsim, 245; Kāmwar Khān, 194; Kām Rāj, 66b, 67a; Shiū Das, 26a.

the degradation and seizure of the Sayyads' enemies. Then arose the outbreak in the streets and urgent messages arrived from Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. It was plain that force must be resorted to.<sup>1</sup>

During the night Farrukhsīyar had hidden somewhere or another in one of the small rooms or closets of the palace. His guard was formed of the Qalmāq or Turkī women servants, armed with sword and shield. It is said that during the night Qutb-ul-mulk, with the approval of Sayyad Khān Jahān and Nawāb Auliya, sent several messages to his younger brother to the effect that, all the offices connected with the person of the sovereign being in their hands, it did not much matter if they maintained the throne, the crown, and the coinage untouched in Farrukhsīyar's name. Seated in consultation with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, were Ikhlaṣ Khān, Sayyad Hāshim 'Alī Khān, and most important of all, Muḥammad Amin Khān. For the time being the last-named had declared himself openly on the side of the Sayyads, because of his anger with Farrukhsīyar for sending him against his will to Mālwah, and then refusing him an audience upon his unauthorized return to Dihli. It is said that when Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān first met, the former changed colour, thinking that the man was his enemy. But he recovered his equanimity as soon as his visitor addressed him thus: "O Nawāb, why have you not ere this finished with this son of a Kashmīrī. You must write a note asking the elder Nawāb to depose him." The three men now united in calling for Farrukhsīyar's removal. The favourable moment, they said, would never recur; if not taken advantage of, their lives were lost. Besides, had not Farrukhsīyar forfeited all right to the throne by his want of discretion and his promotion of low fellows?<sup>2</sup> While this discussion was in progress a note arrived from Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah urging them to delay no longer, but seat another emperor on the throne. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān sent an answer to his brother's letter in these terms: "If you cannot do the business, come out of the palace and let me enter, and I will settle it." Within the palace Mahārajah Ajit Singh also urgently importuned for the deposition of Farrukhsīyar; and it was decided that one of the imprisoned scions of the house of Taimur should be brought forth and placed upon the throne. There is a local tradition among the Sayyads of Bārḥah that someone

<sup>1</sup> Wārid, 157b, Khāfī Khān, 813, 814, Khūshḥāl Cand, 413b, 414a.

<sup>2</sup> Khūshḥāl Cand states that a *Mahzarnāmah* or Declaration, for the deposition of Farrukhsīyar was drawn up, and then signed and sealed by all except a few of the nobles. It was brought to Ajit Singh on the last day, and things having gone so far, he had no help for it and signed also.

proposed to set aside the imperial house altogether, the throne being transferred to one of the two brothers.<sup>1</sup> This would have been in accordance with Eastern precedent, where the successful rebel usually claims the crown as the prize of victory. And the virtues of the Mughal line as an instrument of rule being obviously expended, it would probably have been better, in most ways, if the sovereignty had been usurped by a newer and more vigorous family. Probably the difficulty, an insurmountable one as it proved, was to decide which brother should reign, neither being ready to give way to the other.<sup>2</sup>

A consultation was held in order to select a prince, and the lot fell upon Prince Bedār Dil, son of Bedār Bakht, grandson of 'Ālamgir, who was known as having the best understanding among all the princes. By the time that this had been decided, the outbreak in the city, as we have already related, had occurred. The case seemed urgent and the greatest haste was made. Quṭb-ul-mulk sent his own master of the ceremonies, Qādir Dād Khān, and a number of the Jodhpur Rājah's personal attendants, or *Bhandāris*,<sup>3</sup> to bring out the prince selected. When these messengers arrived at the door of the prince's dwelling, where also were assembled the sons of Prince Rafi'-ush-shān, the women jumped to the conclusion that, having made Farrukhsiyar a prisoner, the Sayyads had now sent men to slay all the princes of the royal house, and thus make clear their own way to the throne. Under this impression, they barred the door, locked it on the inside, and hid the prince in a store-cupboard. In vain the messengers called out: "We have come to escort Prince Bedār Dil, and place him on the throne." Not a word was listened to, and the men were repelled with sticks and stones. As there was no possibility of searching or delaying longer, for the danger that the rioters in the street might get the upper hand increased every moment, the Nawāb ordered a band of men with hatchets to break in the door. On forcing an entrance, their first effort was to find the particular prince who had been named to sit upon the throne. But his mother wept and wailed beyond measure, nor could they find the key of the store-room. In despair, they turned towards the sons of Rafi'-ush-shān, and out of them picked Rafi'-ud-darajāt. Although he was the youngest of the three, in intelligence

<sup>1</sup> The traditional account is that the idea was broached by Jalāl Khān of Jalālābād (Muzaffarnagar district). But he was dead; it might have been suggested, however, by his second son, Dīndār Khān, who was present at Dihlī.

<sup>2</sup> Kām Rāj, 67a; Gaḥyā Khān, 125a; Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 239; Khūshbār Cand, 413b; *Aḥwāl-i-Khawqīn*, 145b, 146a.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhandāri*, A house-steward, treasurer, purveyor (Shakespeare, 411).

and judgment he was found to excel his brothers. This youth was brought as he had been found, wearing his ordinary clothes, his only ornament being a necklace of pearls, taken by Quṭb-ul-mulk from his own neck. The Nawāb holding one hand and Ajit Singh the other, they seated him straightway on the jewelled peacock throne, which two days before had been brought out into the *Diwān-i-‘ām* for the celebration of the *Nauroz*, or vernal festival. Those present offered their gifts, as is usual upon a fresh accession. Then, under the supervision and control of Najm-ud-dīn ‘Ali Khān, Rājah Ratn Cand, Rājah Bakht Mall and Dindār Khān, son of Jalāl Khān,<sup>1</sup> at the head of a number of Afghāns, were sent into the female apartments to arrest the deposed emperor.<sup>2</sup>

These men, some four hundred altogether, rushed tumultuously into the imperial apartments. A number of the women seized weapons and tried to resist; some were slain and some wounded. The weeping and lamentation of the ladies passed unheeded. The door of the small room where he was hiding having been broken in, the wretched Farrukhsiyar, despairing of life, came out armed with sword and shield, and dealt several blows at the stony-hearted ruffians. In that dire extremity these fruitless and untimely efforts availed him nothing. His mother, his wife, his daughter and other ladies grouped themselves around him and tried to shelter him. The shrieking women were pushed on one side with scant ceremony. The men surrounded him and hemmed him in; they then laid hold of him by the hand and neck, his turban fell off, and with every mark of indignity he was dragged and pushed from his retreat. It is said that Hafiz-ullah Khān, (subsequently known as Murtazā Khān) and Murid Khān,<sup>3</sup> in order to ingratiate themselves with Quṭb-ul-mulk, went with those hard-hearted men, thus in one moment wiping out the loyal services done to the line of Taimur, for more than a century past, by their grandfather and father, and at the same time oblivious of their having been themselves

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, Jalāl Khān of Jalālābād, parganah Thānah Bhawan. Khāfi Khān, II, 814, speaks also of one man (not named) “son of Ṣalābat Khān, Rohela.” Possibly this is a copyist’s mistake, *صلابت* having been written in place of *جال*.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, 814, 816.

<sup>3</sup> Kāmwar Khān, p. 194. Hafiz-ullah Khān received the title of Murtazā Khān on the 29th Sha‘bān 1131H, and was made deputy of the Mīr Ātash (Kāmwar Khān 206). He was a Husainī Sayyad, his name being Hafiz-ullah, son of Mīrzā Shakrullah, entitled Murtazā Khān (d. 1123 H. 1711-12). He died at Shāhjahānābād on the 6th Jamādi II, 161 H. (2nd June, 1748) aged 63 years T-i-Mḥdī. Murid Khān was rewarded with the appointment of Dāroghah of the Mace-bearers on the day (29th Sha‘bān).

the fallen man's companions and confidants. It was pitiful to see this strong man, perhaps the handsomest and most powerfully-built of Bābar's race that had ever occupied the throne, dragged bareheaded and barefooted, subjected at every moment to blows and the vilest abuse, into the *Dīwān-i-khās* to the presence of Quṭb-ul-mulk. The Nawāb opened his pen box, took out a needle used by him for applying collyrium (*surmah*) to his eyes, and giving it to one of the men, ordered them to throw down their prisoner and blind him. Whatever was found in the female apartments and storehouses, or on the people of the harem—cash, clothes, gold, silver and copper vessels, ornaments and jewels—all was taken, nay, even the slave girls and the concubines were appropriated.<sup>1</sup>

After the needle had been passed through his eyes, Farrukhsīyar was imprisoned in the room over the Tirpoliyā, or triple gate within the fortress. It was the place to which common malefactors were sent, and had already witnessed the death of Jahāndār Shāh seven years before. It was a bare, dark, unfurnished hole, containing nothing but a bowl for food, a pot of water for ablutions, and a vessel with some drinking water. On reaching it he is reported to have quoted the lines :

“ Like a cypress in decay,  
Such a king in such slavery.”<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION 40.—DEATH OF FARRUKHSIYAR.

Although it involves a slight break in the exact chronological order, it seems better to carry on Farrukhsīyar's story to his cruel and dishonoured end. The captivity he was held in appears to have been unnecessarily strict, and many anecdotes connected with it have been handed down. A few days after his accession, the new emperor, Rafi'-ud-darajāt, sent a eunuch to inquire about his predecessor's condition. Farrukhsīyar invoked a blessing on his head, and sent back the lines—

Be not taken by the gardener's deceit, O nightingale,  
Ere this I, too, had my nest in this garden.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On this occasion Wārid has the following lines:—

*Qādirā-*

*Murd! qudrat tū dārī, harchih khwāhi ān kunī,*

*Murdah rā jān ham tū bakhshī, zindah rā murdān kunī.*

*Harth-i-shāhān tū sitānī, 'ajiz-i-yak nān kunī.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cunīn sarv rā dar sar-afgandagī,*

*Cunīn shāh rā dar cunīn bāndagī.* Mirzā Muḥammad, 461; *Khāfi Khān,*

II, 814.

<sup>3</sup> *Az fareb-i-bāghbān ghāfil ma-bāsh, ai 'andalīb :*

Other verses attributed to him during his imprisonment are :

A heart is mad with wine, give it wine,  
It is consumed with fire, give it fire.  
To him who asks the state of my heart,  
Breathe but a sigh, give that as answer.<sup>1</sup>

Even the Sayyad soldiers who formed the guard set over him grieved to see how he was treated. For instance, during four or five days at a time, he would be deprived of water for necessary ablutions. Unsuitable food had brought on diarrhœa, and having no water, he was forced to tear off pieces from his clothes to cleanse himself. Day and night he had passed his time in reciting the Qurān, which he knew by heart. Even this distraction was denied him, for in his polluted state, it was unlawful to recite the words of the holy volume.

It is believed that, although a needle had been passed through his eyes, Farrukhsiyar was still able to see. In spite of all that had happened, he was still eager for power and believed his restoration possible. He made repeated overtures to the Sayyads, promising to leave all power in their hands, if they would only release him and replace him on the throne. Then he tried to win over 'Ābdullah Khān, Afghān, one of his jailors. He promised this man the rank of *Haft Hazārī* (7000) after he should have conducted him in safety to Rājah Jai Singh. The Afghān betrayed him to the Sayyads. People in the city spread about the story that Tahavvur Khān, *wālā shāhi*, Rūḥullah Khān (son of Khānahzād Khān) and many others were coming with Rāja Jai Singh at the head of a mighty army to deliver the captive. Popular rumour asserted that Farrukhsiyar could still see, and that in secret conclave the two brothers had repented, and would replace the deposed sovereign on the throne. After doing this, they would resign place and office, assume the garb of mendicants, and return to Bārhal, or make a pilgrimage to the holy places. This was openly spoken of. Then Hāshim 'Alī Khān, Dakhini, said secretly to Husain 'Alī Khān, "I

*Pesh az īn mā ham dar īn bāgh ashyāne dāshtem.*

Wārid, 158b. But in B. M. Oriental 1823, fo. 28, the words are slightly different.

<sup>1</sup> *Dil mast -i-sharāb ast, sharāb-ash ba dahed,*

*Khū-kardah-i-ādash ast, ādash ba dahed.*

*Har kas kih zī aḥwāl-i-dil-i-mā pursad*

*Ahī ba-lab āred, o jawāb--ash ba-dahed.*

*Mirāt-i-āftāb-numā*, B.M. Addl., 16,697, fol. 216a. In *Bayān-i-wāqi*, p. 175, and Gladwin, p. 194, the words are different.

“salute your lordship: Disease is dealt with in one of two ways—you either bear it, or remove the afflicted part. But once you have resorted to treatment, there is no hope of recovery till the offending principle is expelled.” The Sayyads then made up their mind to remove Farrukhsīyar. They sent for Sidī Yāsīn Khān (son of Sidī Qāsim, Fūlād Khān, once *Koṭwāl* of Dihli), and after promising him a reward said: “Farrukhsīyar took your father’s life without cause, you have a legal right of retaliation,<sup>1</sup> put your hand on your dagger and slay him.” The young man refused. Had not his father and his family been the slaves of that royal house? To kill a master who for some supposed fault took a slave’s life, was not permissible.

As no one else was willing, they were forced to act themselves. They began by supplying Farrukhsīyar with bitter and oversalted dishes, but without effect. Slow poison was then tried for a time. Farrukhsīyar now made use of violent language, and cursed the Sayyads in the most virulent terms. Their patience being at an end, they sent executioners into the prison to strangle their victim. In spite of a violent resistance, these men effected their purpose, beating the ex-emperor on the hands till he let go the strap that they had tied round his neck. To make sure, he was stabbed several times in the abdomen. This happened on the night between the 8th and 9th Jamādī II, 1131 H. (27th-28th April, 1719). There is a somewhat apocryphal story told in the *Sīyar-ul-muta, akhkhirīn* as to the mode of Farrukhsīyar’s death, by which the direct blame for it is removed from the shoulders of the Sayyads. Farrukhsīyar is supposed to have evaded his guardians and made an attempt to escape. He passed from one terrace roof to another, and was already at some distance before his absence was detected. The Afghān officer in charge searched for his prisoner, found him hiding in the shadow of a wall, and brought him back, ending by giving him an unmerciful beating. Farrukhsīyar, stung to the quick by this disgrace, ran at the wall, dashed his head against it, and fractured his skull. The evidence for this story seems insufficient, and the author’s animus, as Sayyad and Shī’a defending other Sayyads and Shī’as, is sufficiently obvious here as elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

On the following day, 10th Jamādī II, 1131 H. (29th April, 1719), the body was thrown down on a mat within the fort for purposes of

<sup>1</sup> *Qiṣāṣ*.

<sup>2</sup> Persian text, I., 42; “Seir,” I., 150; Briggs, 187, Muḥammad Qāsim, 259, Khāfī Khān, II, 819. In the *Bayān-i-wāqī*, 175, poison is alleged: the passage reads thus in Gladwin, 194: “A few days after, Farrukhsīyar was destroyed by poison: in order to be sure he was dead, they cut the soles of his feet, and then buried him.”



identification, and the blackness of the face showed that Farrukhsiyar had been strangled; there were also several cuts and wounds to be seen. The body was then prepared for the grave and the bier brought out. Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, paymaster of Husain 'Alī Khān's household, and Sayyad 'Alī Khān, brother of 'Abdullah Khān's paymaster, were sent to carry out the burial rites. They were followed by all the eunuchs, some of the *manṣabdārs*, and a part of the state equipage. When the body was brought to the Akbarābādī mosque,<sup>1</sup> it was received by 15,000 to 20,000 men from the camp and bazars. After recital of the prayers over the dead, 'Abdul Ghafūr lifted the corpse and carried it out, to the accompaniment of weeping and wailing from the crowd. As the procession passed, lamentations arose from every roof and door. Men and women, old and young, rich and poor, shed tears for the departed emperor and cursed his oppressors. The streets and lanes were rendered impassable by the crowds. The rabble and the mendicants, who had received alms from Farrukhsiyar, followed his bier, rending their garments and throwing ashes on their heads, and as it passed, the women on the roofs raised their cry of mourning, and flung stones and bricks upon the servants and officers of the Sayyads. The body was deposited in the crypt of Humāyūn's tomb, in the place where a few years before the body of Farrukhsiyar's father, 'Azīm-ush-shān, had rested before its departure for Aurangābād. The bread and the copper coins, brought for distribution to the poor, were rejected by the crowd with scorn; and on the third day, the rabble and professional beggars assembled on the platform where the body had been washed, and there cooked and distributed a large quantity of food, and until day dawned sang funeral laments.<sup>2</sup>

For many a day, no beggar deigned to appeal for charity to any passing noble who had been concerned in Farrukhsiyar's death. Zafar Khān's liberal gifts of bread and sweetmeats were far famed; but these, too, were refused. The beggars said that in their mouths was still the flavour of the kindnesses bestowed by the martyred Emperor, adding, "May he be poisoned who takes a morsel bearing upon it the mark of those men." They made collections from artisans and shopkeepers, and distributed alms of food every Thursday at Humāyūn's tomb. If any great noble passed along the roads or through the bazars, they pursued him with shouts and harsh reproaches. Especially was this the case with regard to Mahārājah Ajīt Singh and his followers, so that they were forced to reach *darbār* by the most out-of-the-way routes. The

<sup>1</sup> It stands in the Faiz bāzār, that is, on the road from the Dihlī gate of the fort to the South or Dihlī gate of the city.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfī Khān, II., 820; Kāmwar Khān, 200; Muḥammad Qāsim, 260.

Rajputs raged inwardly, and fiercely laid hand on sword or dagger. But who can fight a whole people? At length, several spoon-sellers and bāzār touts having been killed by the Rāthors, the habit of abusing them was abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION 41.—THE CONDUCT OF THE SAYYADS CONSIDERED.

On few subjects does there seem to have been such violently contradictory views expressed as upon the conduct of the Sayyads at this juncture. Writers who are themselves Sayyads and Shi'as defend their action as the only course that could have been pursued. But, as the two brothers soon fell from power and lost their lives, the partizans of their rivals and successors have not hesitated to denounce them, and hold them up to the execration of mankind. The two extremes are even embodied by rival poets in chronograms composed for the occasion. Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir, *Bedil*, wrote :

Didst thou see what they did to the mighty king?<sup>2</sup>  
A hundred harsh and cruel deeds they did, unthinking :  
I asked Wisdom for the date. She answered :  
"The Sayyads behaved disloyally to their king."

To this Mir 'Azmat-ullah, Bilgrāmi, *Bekhabar*, using the same form and rhymes, replied :

To the infirm monarch they did what they ought,  
What a physician should do, that they did ;  
By light of Wisdom's lamp this date was prescribed :  
"The Sayyads treated him as the case required."<sup>3</sup>

It is impossible, I think, to accept to the full either conclusion. To none but extreme believers in the divinity that doth hedge a king, will it seem wrong to have removed from power such a worthless thing as Farrukhsiyar. But the way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly harsh, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage ; for

<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Qāsim, 262.

<sup>2</sup> *Didī kih cah ba shāh-i-girāmī kardand,*  
*Ṣad jor-o-jafā zi rāh-i-khāmi kardand ;*  
*Tārīkh cū az Khirad ba-justam, farmūd :*  
"Sādāt ba-ūe namak-harāmī kardand." (1131)

<sup>3</sup> *Ba shāh-i-sakīm ān cah shāyad kardand,*  
*Az dast-i-ḥakim har cah bāyad kardand ;*  
*Ba qirāt-i-Khirad nuskhah-i-tārīkh navisht :*  
"Sādāt dawā-sh ān cah bāyad kardand." (1131)

that the Sayyads are not specially to blame. But the severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive; and the taking of the captive's life was an extremity entirely uncalled for. As Shāh Nawāz Khān says, the Sayyads were forced into action by a regard for their own lives and honour. At the same time, as he points out, the nobler course would have been for them to have abandoned the struggle, and contented themselves with some distant government, or they might have quitted the service of the state and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca. "But it is not in the power of mortal man to rise superior to that worst of evil passions, the love of power and place." The pious Mahomedan consoles himself by the reflection that God in his good purposes saw fit to impose expiation on the two brothers, by their own speedy death and the destruction of all their power; and thus in His mercy he allowed them to atone for whatever sin they had committed, and did not exclude them from final redemption. Their own violent deaths sufficed to save their souls.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 42.—CHARACTER OF FARRUKHSIYAR.

The most prominent element of Farrukhsiyar's character was weakness. He was strong neither for evil nor for good. Morally it may be indefensible to try and rid yourself, at the earliest moment, of the men to whom you owe your throne. But as a matter of practice and precedent it was otherwise. Many of his predecessors, including the greatest of them, Akbar, had been guilty of similar ingratitude. Thus, according to the morality of his day and country, Farrukhsiyar would have committed no exceptional crime by dismissing, or even killing the Sayyads. Previous rulers, however, men of vigour and resolution, when they found the greatness of some subject becoming dangerous to themselves, acted with promptitude and decision. The crisis was soon over, and though the individual might be destroyed the State did not suffer. How different with Farrukhsiyar! Still, in spite of his inherent weakness, he might have shown himself amiable inoffensive; he might have left his powerful ministers to pursue peacefully their own way, contenting himself with the name, while they kept the reality of power. Instead of this, he was for ever letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would." For seven years the State was in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and it is not too much to say that Farrukhsiyar prepared for himself the fate which finally overtook him. Feeble, false, cowardly, contemptible, it is impossible either to admire or regret him. According to Khūshhāl Cand, Farrukhsiyar

<sup>1</sup> *Miftāh*, 302-3, *Ma,āṣir-ul-amaru*, I; 321, 344, 345.

in the sixth year of his reign was forced, in consequence of the abscesses which troubled him, to submit to an operation that rendered him impotent. Physical degeneration, it is suggested, may have been one of the causes of the irresolution, and even cowardice, which he displayed during the final struggle with the Sayyads.<sup>1</sup>

His most amiable qualities were profuseness and liberality, which made him the darling of the lower orders. Among his personal habits two were especially marked—a fondness for fine clothes and for good horses. He loved gold-embroidered raiment edged with gold lace, such as the sovereign himself had never worn before. All the great nobles imitated him and began to wear what pleased their master. Thus he was at any rate mourned by the lace-sellers and the indigent. As for horses, he chose them with care, for their fine paces, their colour, and their great speed. Several thousand horses stood in his private stables, and a select number of them were tethered under the balcony window of the room where he slept. Thus he was able from time to time to see them from this window, or the roof of the palace. Even when in bed asleep, if a horse rose up and lay down two or three times, he would be roused and enquire the reason, calling both the animal and its groom by their names. The *Khānsāmān* or Lord Steward had strict orders about their food. Once Muḥammad Yār *Khān*, when holding that office, reported that the quantities issued were in excess of the regulations. Farrukhsīyar directed him to pay up to the amount of one gold coin<sup>2</sup> a day for each of these horses, and not to report until that amount was exceeded.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn* is a passage describing the early intimacy between Farrukhsīyar and *Khān Daurān* (*Khawājah 'Āṣim*), where we are told that the prince was passionately fond of wrestling, archery, horsemanship, polo-playing, and other soldierly exercises. His devotion to hunting and the chase is shown by the regularity with which, throughout his reign, he left Dihlī to hunt or shoot in the imperial preserves situated at various distances round the city.<sup>4</sup>

The only well-known edifice constructed in his reign was a third arch of marble to the mosque at the Quṭb, added in 1130 H. It bears the inscription.

*Maurid-i-luṭf o 'ināyat shud wālā-janāb,  
Khusrau, Farrukhsīyar, shāhanshah'ī, mālik-i-rikāb,*

<sup>1</sup> *Khūshhāl Cand*, 410a.

<sup>2</sup> About sixteen rupees.

<sup>3</sup> *Khūshhāl Cand*, 410a.

<sup>4</sup> *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, fol. 49b.

*Sākht az rūe irādat o zi rasūkh-i-i'tiqād*  
*Masjid-i-zebā-binā o sijdah-gāhe shekh o shābb*  
*Ba sarosh-i-ghaib hātif guft dar gos̄h-i-khīrad*  
*Sāl-i-tārīkh-i-bināesh; "bait-i-rabbi-i-mustajāb."*<sup>1</sup>

(1130)

## APPENDIX I.

## REIGN OF FARRUKHSĪYAR.

A.—*Farrukhsīyar's age.*

Authorities differ much as to the year of Farrukhsīyar's birth, nor do they altogether agree in the month or the day of the month. The earliest year is 1093 H., the latest 1098 H. The correct year ought to be determined, I think, by the two chronograms composed by Jiwan Rām, father of Khūshhāl Cand. It is only fair to suppose that a man would not sit down to compose one of these poetical memorials, and then deliberately import into it an erroneous date. I therefore accept the year 1094 H. as correct; while for the day and month, the best authority is the direct statement of Ījād, the court historian, namely, the 19th Ramazān. I cannot understand, however, how this writer came to give the year 1096 instead of 1094 H. Mirzā Muḥammad, who is nearly always to be trusted, gives an age at death which confirms Kūshhāl Cand's date (1094).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Miftāh*, 303, *Aṣār-uṣ-ṣanādīd*, p. 53, No. 61. The inscription gives only the *maddah*. Carr Stephens 178, note, has a translation only, and a second inscription is also translated.

<sup>2</sup> The two chronograms referred to are:—

I. *Tā kih az ān jahān Farrukhsīyar āmad ba dīd*

"*Rūh-i-farrukh, rūh-i-farrukh*" *dar tan-i-'ālam rasīd.*

(1094) (1094)

"In order that Farrukhsīyar should come to light from that world,

"A joyous soul, a joyous soul, entered the body of this world."

II. *Gar sāl-i-tawallād-ash ba-umed*

*Goyand*, "*Walīd-i-'Azīm-i-jāwed*" (1094)

"If the year of his hopeful birth is sought,

"They say, 'Child of the Great Eternal.' (1094)

or, "Child of 'Azīm now in eternity." *Khūshhāl Cand*, fol. 8b.

The conflicting authorities may be ranged thus:—

	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Month.</i>	<i>Day.</i>
Kāmwar Khān (38 years in 1131 H.)	... 1093 H.		
T-i Mh̄dī (1131.5.8—36.8.2) = ...	... 1094	9	6
<i>Khūshhāl Cand</i> , fol. 397a, (31 in 1125 H)	... 1094		

*B.—Length of the reign.*

Farrukhsiyār proclaimed himself emperor at Paṭnah on the 29th Ṣafar 1124 H. (6th March, 1712), soon after he had heard of his father's, 'Azīm-ush-shān's, defeat and death at Lāhor. The first day of the reign, according to the official calculation, was fixed from this coronation at Paṭnah, and Jahāndār Shāh's reign was treated as never having existed. The victory over Jahāndār Shāh took place near Āgrah on the 13th Zu,ḥijjah 1124 H. (10th December, 1712.) Counting from the first of these dates, the reign up to the 8th Rabī ' II, 1131 H., lasted 7 (lunar) years, 1 month, and 9 days; or from the latter date (13th Zu,ḥijjah), to the same day, 6 (lunar) years, 3 months, and 25 days.<sup>1</sup>

*C.—Style and title in life, and after death.*

His titles are nowhere given with completeness. He is called either Abū,ḥ Muzaffar Mu'īn-ud-din, Mḥd Farrukhsiyar, Bādshāh,<sup>2</sup> or simply Mu'īn-ud-din Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar, Badshāh<sup>3</sup>; some writers style him Jalāl-ud-din, Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar, Bādshāh.<sup>4</sup> After his death he is referred to as the *Shahīd-i-marḥūm*, "the Martyr received into mercy," although I know of no formal statement that this description had been officially assigned to him. As other sovereigns have claimed to be above grammar, so Farrukhsiyar asserted a similar right over the calendar by changing the name of Wednesday from Fourth Day (*chahār shambah*) to Auspicious Day (*Humāyūn shambah*, and that of Thursday from Fifth day to Fortunate Day (*mubārik shambah*). From the date of the victory over Jahāndār Shāh, these days are so referred to in Ījad's history of the reign.<sup>5</sup>

			Year.	Month.	Day.
<i>Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī</i> , fol. 150	...	...	1095	6	3
<i>Mirāt-i-āftāb-numā</i>	...	...	1095	6	18
<i>Jām-i-jām</i>	...	...	1095	7	18
Ījad, fol. 14a	...	...	1096	8	19
B. M. Addl. 16, 713	...	...	1098	8	18
B. M. Addl. 1690, fol. 163a (1125-26)	...	...	1098		
Blochmann, 'A'in, table	...	...	1098		

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, f. 137, entry of 9th Jamādī, II, 1125 H., Khūshhāl Cand, 397a, Khāfi Khān, II, 737. Khāfi Khān's year (1123) is wrong—it should be 1124.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*.

<sup>3</sup> Wārid 148a, Beale's *Miftāḥ*, 300.

<sup>4</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī*, page 130, *Jām-i-jām*.

<sup>5</sup> Ījad, fo. 106a, 107b, Kāmwar Khān, p. 137.

D.—*Coinage*.

His coins bore the distich:—

*Sikkah zad, az faẓl-i-Haqq, bar sīm o zar,  
Padshāh-i-bahr-o-bar, Farrukhsīyar.*

“By the grace of the True God, struck coin on silver and gold,  
“The emperor of land and sea, Farrukhsīyar.”

A parody of these lines was current at the time in Dihlī:—

*Sikkah zad bar gandum o moth o mattar  
Bādshāh-i-dānah-kash, Farrukhsīyar.*

“Struck coin on wheat, lentils and peas,  
The grain gathering emperor, Farrukhsīyar.”<sup>1</sup>

There are 116 coins of this sovereign in the three collections, at the British Museum, in Lāhor, and in Calcutta; of gold, 18 (14 of the large and 4 of the small issue), and of silver, 98 (circular 97, square, that is, the *dirham-i-shara'ī* or legal *dirham*, 1). One hundred and twelve are dated by the regnal year. Each year of the reign is represented, 1st (8 coins), 2nd (17), 3rd (9), 4th (7), 5th (19), 6th (19), 7th (29), 8th (4). All except 6 coins (3 places not identified, 2 forged, 1 mint illegible) can be classed under the *Ṣūbahs* in which their mints were situated. These 110 coins belong to 23 mints in 15 out of the 21 *Ṣūbahs*—those unrepresented being Kābul, Kashmīr, Ajmer, Allahābād, Bīdar and Barār. The number of coins from each mint is Lāhor (16), Multān (7), Taṭṭah (1), Dihlī, 33 (Shāhjahānābād 27, Bareli 2, Sīhrind 4), Gujarāt, 7 (Ṣūrat 7), Akbarābād, 11 (Akbarābād 6, Itāwah 3, Gwāli-yār 2), Audh, 1 (Lakhnau 1), Mālwah, 2 (Ujjain 2), Bahār, 8 (Paṭnah 'Azīmābād 8), Bengal, 7 (Murshidābād, 6, Jahāngīrnagar Dhākah, 1), Orissa, 3 (Kaṭak 3), Khāndesh, 4 (Burhānpur 4), Aurangābād (1),

<sup>1</sup> Sayyad Mahomed Latif, “History of the Punjab,” 189, note, and *Kulliyāti-Ja'far*, Zāṭallī, p. 57 at end. The *Malāḥat-i-maqāl* of Rāo Dalpat Singh, B.M. Or. 1828, fol. 74a, attributes these lines to Mirzā Ja'far, Zāṭalī of Nārnol, and states that for writing them he was condemned to death (see Beale, 189). The first line has *mūng* instead of *moth*, and the second line is given as *Bādshāh-i-tasmahkash*, (strap-stretching) Farrukhsīyar. “The Coins of the Moghul Emperors in the B. M.,” 1892, p. 179-190, “Coins of the Mogul Emperors” by C. J. Rodgers (Calcutta, 1893) and “Coins of the Indian Museum” by the same (Calcutta, 1894). Mr. M. Longworth Dames “Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors,” (Numismatic Chronicle, II, 275 or 309, London 1902), has added Aḥmadābād and Ajmer and Kam-bāyal to the unit towns. Khūshhāl Cand, 396a.

Bijāpur (1), Haidarābad, 8 (Arkāt 3, Adonī 1, Chināpatan 3, Gūti 1). This distribution represents the facts fairly well: Kābul was practically lost, but the absence of coins from Kashmīr, Ājmer, Allahābād and two of the Dakhin Śūbahs, is difficult to account for.

The square silver "legal drachma" or *dirham-i-shara'ī* is a curious coin, and to all appearance unique. By its weight it holds the proportion to a rupee of about one-fourth (exactly it is .23, or 3 annas and 8 pie, taking the standard rupee to have weighed 176 grains). From an analysis of the weights of the 97 circular rupees, I find more than half (54) range between 175 and 177 grains, the lowest weight (1) is 166.5 and the highest (4) is 187 grains. These latter coins come from the Katak and Murshidābād mints, and are probably a local variation. The diameters range from .80 of an inch to 1.1 inch; there are 60 of .85, 34 of .90, 11 of .95 and 9 of 1.0. Judging from the above facts, it is probable that the standard rupee was 176 grains in weight, and 90 of an inch in diameter.

From a *farmān* dated the 5th Rabī' I. of the 4th year, we obtain the following details as to Farrukhsīyar's seals. There were two; the first one was round, with a diameter of  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches, the second square,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches each way.





The words in the centre are not in the above order on the seal. On the square seal the words appear on six lines, in the following order:—

1.                   Muḥammad
2. Mu‘in-ud-dīn, Ghāzi, Ṣāni,
3.                   Akbar,
4.                   Wālā Shān,
5.       h           z           i
6. Farmān-i-Abūl Muẓaffar Bādshā ghā

*E.—Farrukhsīyar’s wives.*

We hear of only two principal wives—(1) Fakhr-un-nissā Begam, daughter of Sādāt Khān; (2) the Rāthor princess, the daughter of Mahārājah Ajit Singh, whose Hindū name seems to have been Bāe Indar Kunwar.<sup>1</sup> The father of the former was one Mir Muḥammad Taqqī, entitled first Ḥasan Khān and then Sādāt Khān, son of Sādāt Khān. He is called a Ḥusainī by race, and the family came from the Persian province of Māzandarān, on the south shore of the Caspian Sea; it had emigrated to India after having been for a time settled at Iṣfahān.<sup>2</sup> He married a daughter of Ma‘ṣūm Khān, Ṣafawī, and if this lady was the mother of Fakhr-un-nissā, this Ṣafawī connection would account for the daughter’s selection as a prince’s bride.<sup>3</sup> Sādāt Khān was wounded on the 9th Rabī’ II, 1131 H., the day of Farrukhsīyar’s deposition, and died two or three days afterwards. He was over eighty years of age. The following table shows his family:—

Sādāt Khān, d. 1131 H.

‘Alī Naqī Khān, d. 9th Rabī’ II, 1126 H.	Mḥd Mahdī, Farzand Khān, d. 28th Sha’bān 1128 H. aged 33. (1)	Saif Khān, d. 8th Muḥarram 1150 H. (1)	Ṣalābat Khān (Sādāt Khān Zūlfīqār Jang) d. after 1166 H. (2)	‘Aṭāullah Khān.	Fakhr-un-nissā Begam married to Farrukhsīyar
			Daughter = Mḥd Shāh.		Daughter = Mḥd Shāh.

<sup>1</sup> *Tawārīkh-i-Mārwar* of Murārī Dās, B. M. Or. 5838, vol. 2, fol. 80b.

<sup>2</sup> The *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, III, 524, calls him Mīr Buzurg-i-Mara’shī. I do not know the explanation of these epithets.

<sup>3</sup> *T-i-Mḥdī*, year 1128 H., *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, II, 670-76, Mirzā Muḥammad, 174. The *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā* III, 524, calls her Gūhar-un-nissā Begam.

(1) *T-i-Mhdī* and Kāmwar Khān, 166.

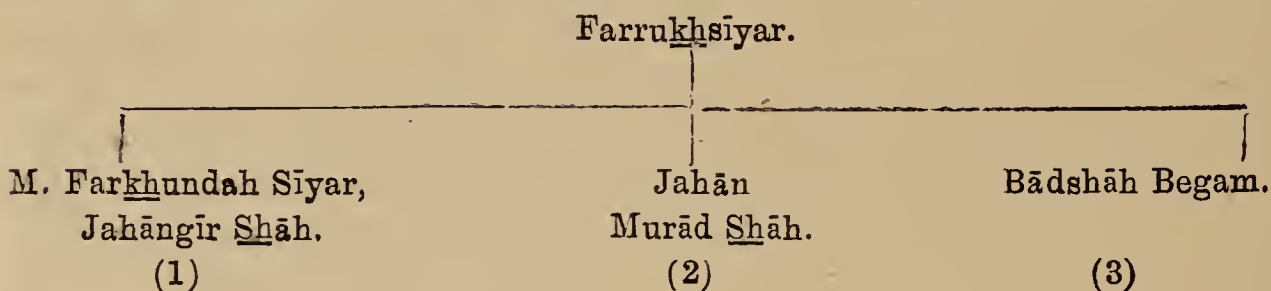
(2) *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, II, 524.

The daughter of Ajit Singh was married on the 29th Ramazān 1127 H. (27th September, 1715) in the fourth year of the reign. She seems to have had no issue. After Farrukhsīyar's deposition and death, she was brought out of the imperial harem on the 29th Sha'bān 1131 H. (16th July, 1719), and made over to her father with the whole of her property. She returned to Jodhpur and we hear no more of her.

Another wife or concubine, the daughter of the hill Rājah of Kash̄twār, entered the harem on the 24th Rajab 1129 H. (3rd July, 1717.)<sup>1</sup>

*F.—Farrukhsīyar's children.*

The following table shows all the children that are recorded :—



(1) Jahāngīr Shāh was born at Patnah on the 18th Zūlqā'dah 1123 H. (27th December, 1711).<sup>2</sup> He died of smallpox a few months afterwards, on the 17th Rabī' II, 1125 (12th May, 1713).<sup>3</sup>

(2) Jahān Murād Shāh was born on the 16th Zūlqā'dah 1129 H.<sup>4</sup> (October, 21st, 1717) and died on the 22nd Jamādī II, 1130 H. (May, 22nd, 1718.) The mother was Sādāt Khān's daughter.

(3) Bādshāh Begam. This child was also born of Sādāt Khān's daughter. She married the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh in 1133 H. (1720-1) and was known as *Malikah-uz-zamānī*, "Queen of the Age." She took a prominent part in securing the accession of Aḥmad Shāh in 1161 H. and died in 1203 H. (1788-9).<sup>5</sup>

*G.—Note on Mīrzā Ja'far, Zāṭalī, Nārnolī.*

The poetical title of Zāṭalī, under which Mīrzā Ja'far wrote, comes from *zāṭal*, Hindī, "chattering, quibbling, idle-talk," (Shakespear,

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 172-3, Thornton, 506, *Kishtwār*, a town on the southern slope of the Himalaya, situated in a small plain on the left bank of the Chenāb, 5,000 feet above the sea; Lat. 33° 18', long. 75° 46'.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Or. 1690, fo. 156b.

<sup>3</sup> Kāmwar Khān 135. The B.M. Or. 1690, fol. 164b says he died in Jamādī I.

<sup>4</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad, 328 and 358. Kāmwar Khān has 15th instead of 16th.

<sup>5</sup> Francklin, "Shah Aulum," 205.

1212). There are several printed editions of his works. A copy of the edition of 1853, now in the Königliche Bibliothek at Berlin, belonged to Dr. Sprenger (see his Catalogue, p. 8, No. 1638.) Beale, p. 189, says he was executed by Farrukkhsiyar's orders for parodying the couplet on the coin of that emperor. The historians make no mention of this; but the fact is possible, when we remember that 'Abd-ul-jalil, Bilgrāmī, *wāqi'ah-navīs* of Siwistān was recalled, and deprived of his appointment, for a very innocent report. There are some further details about Zataḷī in a little Urdū work *Zar-i-Ja'farī, ya'ni siwāniḥ-i-'umrī-i-Mīr Ja'far, Zataḷlī*, by "Hindustani Speculator" (published by Jān Muḥammad and Muḥammad Ismā'il, Kashmīrī Bāzār, Lāhor, 1890, 36 pp. litho.). From this we learn that his ancestors came to India with Humāyūn, when that monarch returned to it and fought Hemū. They obtained a *jāgīr* and were in favour during Jahāngīr's reign, but in Shāhjahān's time the grant was resumed, and the poet's father Mīr 'Abās, was forced to open a shop. Ja'far is said to have been born about the time of 'Ālamgīr's accession (1658). The other children were two daughters and a son, Ṣafdar; the latter, the youngest of the family, being about five-and-a-half years younger than his brother. Their father died when all of them were young. One Mīr Sarwar sent Ja'far to school along with his own son, Akbar. In the end Sarwar embezzled the family property; and they were reduced to poverty again. Ja'far was over sixty when he died, but no year is given. In one of his *ruba'āt* in his *Kulliyāt* he says that when he wrote it he was over sixty. The following Persian lines in praise of tobacco are by him:—

*Turfah-i-shaghle shaghal-i-tambākū,  
Kih z'īn shaghal gham farū gardād:  
Ham-dam ast īn, ba waqt-i-tanhāi,  
Ṭabāi'-i-bādī az ū nikū gardād.*

- "Smoking tobacco is a rare pastime,  
"An occupation decreasing gloom;  
"A friend it is in time of solitude,  
"It is a help to a bad digestion.

But his more characteristic style is a macaronic mixture of Persian and Hindī.

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